COMMUNITY AND CREATIVITY IN THE 'REVIVAL OF WRITING BY WOMEN' IN MODERN JAPAN: MAPPING AN EARLY SHŌWA LITERARY NETWORK

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Joanna Sturiano
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ABSTRACT

"Community and Creativity in the 'Revival of Writing by Women' in Modern Japan: Mapping an Early Shōwa Literary Network"

Joanna Sturiano

The women writers who formed a critical mass in Tokyo in the mid-1920s launched writing careers within and along the boundaries of the proletarian literature movement (*puroretaria bungaku undō*) of 1927-1931, capturing the attention of the literary establishment and popular readers alike. In this dissertation I examine how four of the most prominent of these modern Japanese women writers interacted with each other personally and professionally in what I call a literary "network." My project places Hirabayashi Taiko (平林たい子, 1905-72) at the network's center, and proceeds by juxtaposing her with three contemporaries: Hayashi Fumiko (林芙美子, 1903-1951), Sata Ineko (佐多稲子, 1904-1998), and Miyamoto Yuriko (宮本百合子, 1899-1951), discussing each pairing in the context of a specific literary experiment the authors shared. By viewing Hirabayashi in the context of a network of modern women writers, I respect and attempt to emulate her own self-contextualization as a writer whose creativity was intertwined with her community. I utilize the schema of the network as a map along which to follow (and trace, or re-trace) the connections between writers across the multiple terrains of time and space, and through shifting intellectual and literary movements and changing material circumstances.

In Chapter One I consider how, despite the deprivation Hirabayashi and Hayashi suffered during their early careers at the moment when they lived with one another, their friendship can be seen as having both enabled their early literary pursuits and shaped their innovations as writers in modern Japan. I examine a variety of literature by Hayashi

including *Diary of a Vagabond* (*Hōrōki*) and her postwar short stories alongside Hirabayashi's prewar short stories including "The Shopgirl's Lament" ("Joten'in no fuhei"). In Chapter Two I explore how Hirabayashi and Sata Ineko wrote autobiographical novels and memoirs about their younger lives during the war, in a shift from their prewar autobiographical short stories in the vein of proletarian literature. Conflict between personal and political identities fueled both women's literary activity. I look at the ways in which they each confronted the discourse on "women's literature" and narrativized the experiences of early Shōwa women writers through fictionalized versions of their personal struggles, specifically Sata's literary autobiography *My Tokyo Map* (*Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, 1946-1948) and Hirabayashi's *Desert Bloom* (*Sabaku no hana*, 1957).

Chapter Three addresses Hirabayashi Taiko's relationship with her longtime "rival," Miyamoto Yuriko. This node of the literary network spotlights Hirabayashi's ideological conflicts with Miyamoto. Despite sharing an early interest in socialist revolutionary ideals, the upper-middle class Miyamoto and the working-class Hirabayashi famously disagreed about the proper role of socialist political activism in Japan. In the last years of Hirabayashi's life, she recorded her antagonistic views of Miyamoto in a critical biography (*hyōden*) entitled *Miyamoto Yuriko* (1971-72). I treat this work together with Miyamoto's essays on women and literature (*Fujin to bungaku*, 1947), examining how each writer positioned herself within the literary establishment through expository writings in response to the other, and how their intellectual postures came to represent a "rivalry." The epilogue examines the literary legacy of this

innovative community of writers who “revived” women’s writing in modern Japan via the figure of Hirabayashi’s longtime friend, the writer Enchi Fumiko (円地文子).

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Introduction

The history of writing by women in Japan spans over a thousand years, and yet encompasses but two main periods – centuries apart – when communities of women writers thrived: the golden age of Japanese women's writing in the Heian period (794-1185), when Murasaki Shikibu wrote the *Tale of Genji*,[1] and the modern "revival of writing by women"[2] sparked in the Taishō (1912-1926) and early Shōwa (1926-1989) periods. The women writers who formed a critical mass in Tokyo in the mid-1920s launched writing careers within and along the boundaries of the proletarian literature movement (*puroretaria bungaku undō*) of 1927-1931, capturing the attention of the literary establishment and popular readers alike. In this dissertation I examine how four of the most prominent of these modern women writers interacted with each other personally and professionally in what I call a literary "network." While their literary and historical context bore little resemblance to that of their aristocratic Heian forebears, they shared a sociality with their classical antecedents as a community of literary women. They crafted professional personae, forged friendships and developed antipathies with one another, debated the roles of women in literary production, and inaugurated new spaces for women to actively engage in creative work. In viewing these writers as a kind

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NB: All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. All Japanese texts cited without publishing locations have been published in Tokyo.

[1] Although the precise date of its composition is unknown, and "authorship of at least part of the book is disputed," *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*) is typically attributed to the court lady known as Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部), and traced approximately the early eleventh century. See Shuichi Kato, David Chibbett, tr., *A History of Japanese Literature: The First Thousand Years* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2002) 180; "Introduction" in Murasaki Shikibu, Edward G. Seidensticker, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978); and Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, in Yanai Shigeshi et al., eds., *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* vols. 19-23 (Iwanami Shoten, 1993−1997).

[2] Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era: Fiction,* Vol. 1 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984) 1113-1162.

of literary network, I consider how their personal and professional relationships contributed to the "revival of writing by women" in modern Japan.

This study of five female writers active in the early Shōwa era employs the dual perspectives of sociohistorical and literary analysis. The purpose of the study is to illuminate how these writers' relationships with one another contributed to their literary development – specifically, their experiments with literary content and style, genre, narrative technique, and methods for expressing their political commitments in fiction. While the figure of the solitary author has loomed large in literary studies, I believe that this focus on sociality offers new insights into not only women's writing but also the roles that writers' relationships to each other play in literary production.

My project places Hirabayashi Taiko (平林たい子, 1905-72) at the network's center, and proceeds by juxtaposing her with three contemporaries: Hayashi Fumiko (林芙美子, 1903-1951), Sata Ineko (佐多稲子, 1904-1998), and Miyamoto Yuriko (宮本百合子, 1899-1951), discussing each pairing in the context of a specific literary experiment the authors shared. Hirabayashi engaged in extensive literary experimentation within and beyond her best-known works of proletarian literature, and she was also involved in a variety of highly influential relationships with her fellow women writers. As such she is optimally suited to serve as the central figure of this study. In the epilogue I also discuss Hirabayashi's friendship with Enchi Fumiko (円地文子, 1905-1986) to show how the network frame can be fruitfully expanded to encompass the next generation of Japanese women writers.

Over the course of her career Hirabayashi wrote short stories and novels in such genres as children's literature, detective fiction, gangster fiction (*yakuzamono*), "poison

woman" stories (*dokufumono*), autobiographical fiction, literary memoir, and literary biography, not to mention her many works of literary and social criticism. As a young teen, Hirabayashi studied with an inspiring teacher who encouraged her and her classmates to supersede the precocious Chūjō Yuriko (中条百合子, the maiden name of Miyamoto Yuriko). If Yuriko had made a splash with her literary debut at age 18, Hirabayashi's teacher challenged her students to write and publish their own works by age 15.[3] Hirabayashi would ultimately resolve to commit her life to literature. In Tokyo, she came into contact women like herself who were also working toward becoming writers, and together they would form a critical mass. She continued to interact with many of these women writers throughout her life. She was introduced to Hayashi Fumiko in 1925 through a group of anarchist poets and artists,[4] and in 1928 she met Enchi Fumiko at a gathering to announce the launch of the literary journal *Women's Arts* (*Nyonin Geijutsu*).[5] She also met Sata Ineko around this time, through their mutual involvement with the proletarian literary movement.[6] Although these women comprise

[3] Miyamoto had famously published her story "Mazushiki hitobito no mure" ("A Flock of the Poor," 1917) in the journal *Chūō Kōron* (*Central Review*) at the early age of 18.
See "Bungakuteki jijoden" in Enchi Fumiko et al., eds., *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū,* Vol. 12 (Ushio Shuppansha, 1977) 27; and Ueno Hiroko, "Sakka Hirabayashi Taiko o sodateta mono" in Shinshū Shirakaba hen, *Hirabayashi Taiko kenkyū* (Nagoya: Shinshū Shirakaba, 1985) 242-243. [NB: *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū* (*The Collected Works of Hirabayashi Taiko*), published in 12 vols. from 1976-1970 hereafter abbreviated as *HTZ*: [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers cited*.]

[4] See Abe Namiko, ed., "Hirabayashi Taiko Nenpu" in *HTZ*: 12, 340.

[5] This meeting was convened by the journal's founder Hasegawa Shigure (長谷川時雨), and was also the occasion for Hirabayashi to meet other women writers such as Masugi Shizue (真杉静枝). See Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko Nenpu" in *HTZ*: 12, 343.

[6] While the exact occasion of their introduction to one another is unknown, by 1929 at least Hirabayashi had come to know of Sata (then known as Kubokawa Ineko, 窪川稲子) through reading her early works of proletarian literature and recognizing her as a (young female) comrade in the proletarian literature movement. The two would have more interactions in subsequent years as Sata became more involved with movement in 1932. See Hirabayashi Taiko, "Bungei hōmen ni okeru fujin saikin no katsudō (3)" in the Tokyo *Asahi Shinbun*, morning edition (August 27, 1929), 5. In this article, Hirabayashi mentions not having heard from Kubokawa recently, which would imply that they had been acquainted some time earlier. Hirabayashi and Sata may have also had occasion to meet through association with *Nyonin Geijutsu*, to which they both contributed writing, although Sata claims she was not a member of that journal's core

but one grouping of Hirabayashi's female professional acquaintances and friends, together they form an array of the most prominent modern Japanese women writers of their time.[7]

I discuss Hirabayashi's relationships with Hayashi, Sata, and Miyamoto to examine how their interpersonal connections affected their literary experimentation, their attitudes toward literary movements, their readerly and critical reception, and their positions vis-à-vis the essentializing terms of their times – "woman writer" (*joryū sakka* 女流作家) and "women's literature" (*joryū bungaku* 女流文学).[8] In so doing, I hope to propose new ways of reading that expose the limitations of the "women's literature" label that was persistently applied to their work during their lifetimes, and to add literary

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group. Another possible site of their meeting may have been "The Tenth Association" ("Tōka Kai,"「十日会」), a social gathering for women writers organized by the president of the publishing company Chūō Kōronsha, which served as a precursor to the "Joryū Bungakusha Kai" ("Women Writers' Association"). (Other attendees of the Tōka Kai included Hayashi Fumiko and Uno Chiyo [宇野千代]). Yoshiya Nobuko (吉屋信子) recounts that Sata and Hirabayashi were both members of the Joryū Bungakusha Kai as it existed in 1936, although at what point each writer was invited to join this group is also unknown. See Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007), 4, 192-193, and 17.

[7] I should note that here I am naming those writers who wrote (for at least part of their careers) what was considered "pure" literature (*junbungaku,* 純文学). As I noted above, the writers I study in network with one another launched their writing careers within and along the boundaries of the proletarian literature movement of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Several other well-known women writers had literary careers which overlapped at least in part with the writers I study here, including Tsuboi Sakae (壷井栄, 1899-1967), Nogami Yaeko (野上弥生子, 1885-1985) who first published her work in in 1907, Okamoto Kanoko (岡本かの子, 1889-1939) who first published in 1905, and Uno Chiyo (1897-1996), who made her debut in 1921. These writers are sometimes grouped together with Miyamoto Yuriko, on the basis of their close birthdates and earlier literary debuts than the other writers I study. To name perhaps the most well-known (and bestselling) woman writer of "popular" literature (*taishū bungaku,* 大衆文学) from the time period I study, Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973) began her writing career in 1916.

[8] The term *joryū bungaku* describes a "feminine" or "female" "manner" or "way" of writing. The pioneering feminist literary critic Mizuta Noriko has translated the term *joryū* variously as "female-style" and as "female-school," as in "female-school literature" (*joryū bungaku).* Here I translate *joryū bungaku* as "women's literature" (always marked with scare quotes) to describe the supposed feminine or female-style literature produced by "women writers" (*joryū sakka*, 女流作家, or *fujin sakka*, 婦人作家). The contemporary term used in place of "*joryū*" since approximately the 1980s in Japan is "*josei*," which has a more neutral meaning of "woman." Here I translate "*josei bungaku*" as *women's writing* [unitalicized in the body of the text], and "*josei sakka*" as *woman writer* [also unitalicized in the body of the text]. See "Introduction" in Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden, eds., trans., *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth Century Short Fiction* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991) ix-xxiv.

sociality to the contextual rubric within which we understand and interpret their works as a part of modern Japanese literature.

Not only did Hirabayashi engage in a wide range of significant relationships with fellow writers throughout her career; she also tended to write about those relationships in essays and works of literary criticism, some of which remain the most beloved of her works among readers even today.[9] As a chronicler of literary figures, Hirabayashi shaped her persona as a writer in the context of her relationships with fellow writers and intellectuals, in effect commemorating the social establishment within which she wrote. Moreover, Hirabayashi's very life and works, not just her persona, were tangibly linked to her literary community. From 1938 to 1945, when Hirabayashi was gravely ill due to conditions worsened by a period of confinement in prison, her recovery was made possible in large part by the financial assistance of a coalition of women writers organized by Enchi Fumiko, who vowed not to let such a talented writer die before her time.[10] In this sense, her postwar creativity was literally made possible by the network of women writers to which she belonged.

By viewing Hirabayashi in the context of a network of modern women writers, I respect and attempt to emulate her own self-contextualization as a writer whose creativity was intertwined with her community. Hirabayashi has been persistently characterized as

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[9] See, for example, the novelist Iwahashi Kunie's (岩橋邦枝) praise for Hirabayashi's *Jidenteki kōyūroku / Jikkanteki sakkaron* (『自伝的交友録・実感的作家論』) in her commentary on the 2003 paperback edition of Hirabayashi's critical biographies on Hayashi and Miyamoto. Iwahashi Kunie, "Kaisetsu: Jikkanteki hyōden no kessaku," in Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko* (Kōdansha Bungei Bunko, Kōdansha, 2003) 280.

[10] Kamichika Ichiko (神近市子), Enchi Fumiko, and other intellectuals concerned for Hirabayashi's inability to afford adequate health care while her husband was also imprisoned collected donations as the "Hirabayashi Taiko Iryō Kai" (平林たい子慰療会), which they used to finance her hospitalization in 1938. In mid-August of that year, out of concern for her critical condition, she had at last been released from police custody. Enchi also enlisted the help of her husband, Enchi Yoshimatsu (円地与志松), to secure Hirabayashi's access to care in a good hospital which she would otherwise have been unable to afford. See Abe Namiko hen, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Nichigai Asoshieetsu, 1985), 19-21.

one point in a triad of inimitable women writers in early postwar Japan, along with Hayashi Fumiko and Miyamoto Yuriko.[11] Indeed, these three women writers are often cited as representatives of women's writing and the "women's literary establishment" in the early Shōwa, wartime, and early postwar periods in Japan. My goal here is thus to consider what an analysis of these writers' relationships to one another can reveal about modern Japanese women's writing. I extend this methodology to Hirabayashi's relations with Sata Ineko as well, as an example of what can be gained from going beyond the familiar triad.

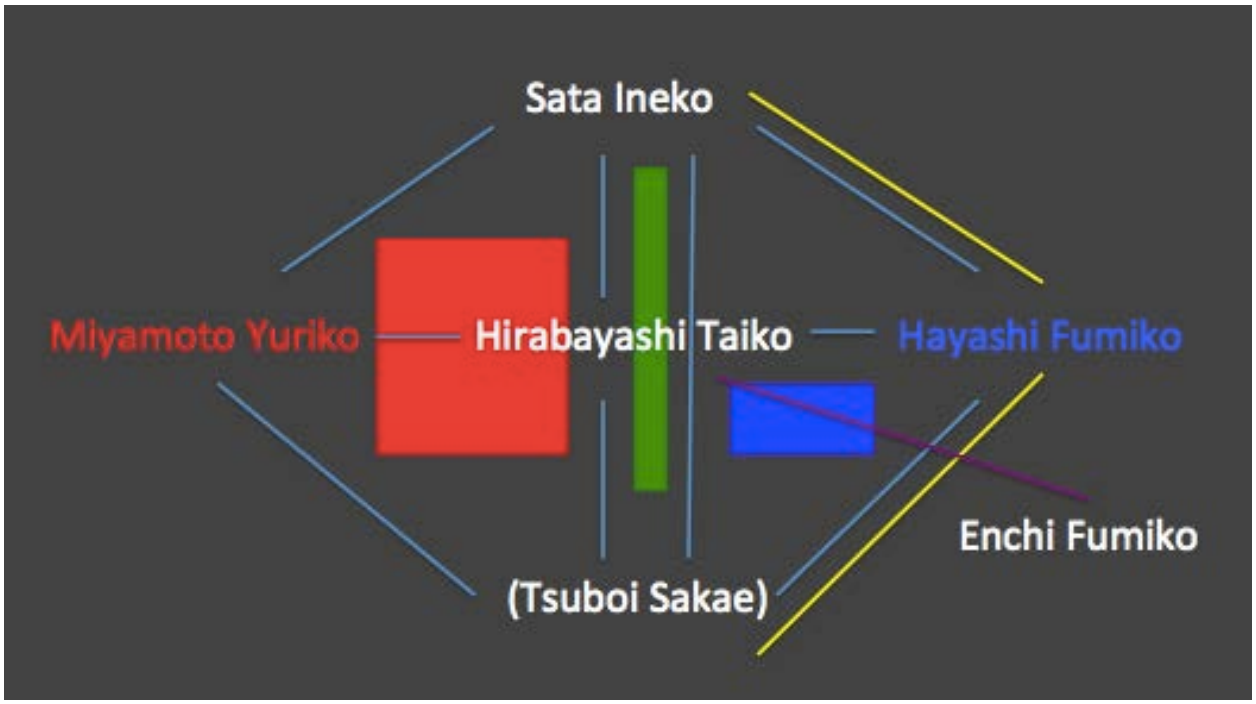

Figure 1. An Early Shōwa Literary Network

In Figure 1 above, I present a simple visualization of the early Shōwa network I map out in this study. At the center of this network, Hirabayashi is shown to be linked to a number of writers who themselves often have bonds (whether personal or professional)

[11] I return to a discussion of this characterization and its legacy in further detail beginning on page 19 of the Introduction.

with one another. The network's strongest bonds exist between the three writers positioned centrally along a horizontal axis running across the middle of the figure: the bonds between Hirabayashi Taiko and Miyamoto, and between Hirabayashi and Hayashi Fumiko, the author pairings that bookend the main chapters of my dissertation. Miyamoto's name in red is intended to indicate her antagonistic bond with Hirabayashi, while Hayashi's name in blue signifies her friendly bond with Hirabayashi. I link Hirabayashi to Sata Ineko along a vertical axis, to indicate the primarily professional nature of their bond. Note that Miyamoto and Sata are shown to be linked to one another by a line, which indicates their bond as friends and colleagues, just as the (blue) line linking Hayashi and Sata indicates their bond as fellow members of the (Japan) Women Writers' Association ([Nihon] Joryū Bungakusha Kai Women Writers' [日本]女流文学者会).[12]

The yellow line linking Sata and Hayashi indicates a second level of connection they shared as fellow writers who accepted invitations to visit the Japanese imperial colonies and military fronts during the Pacific War. (They both shared this bond with another early Shōwa woman writer, Tsuboi Sakae [壺井栄], whose relation to this network I intend to detail in future work – as I indicate by placing her name in parentheses. Sata traveled with Tsuboi to the front as well. Her friendship with Tsuboi is indicated by the green stripe linking their names and running behind Hirabayashi's name [as she was not involved in their friendship with one another.] Tsuboi and Sata *were* both

[12] The members of the Women Writers' Association decided to formally change its name from "Joryū Bungakusha Kai" to "Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai" in 1984. I will hereafter refer to this association by its name during the years I study, as the "Women Writers' Association."

friends and colleagues of Miyamoto, so the mutual friendship of these three writers is indicated by the red rectangle.)

The blue rectangle in the figure marks the shared experience linking Hirabayashi, Hayashi and Tsuboi's nodes of the early Shōwa network. These three writers lived as close neighbors to one another in a boarding house in the Setagaya area of Tokyo in the mid 1920s, at a time when Hayashi and Hirabayashi were each living their lovers, and when Tsuboi had just arrived in Tokyo with her husband, the writer Tsuboi Shigeji (壺井繁治). Hayashi, Hirabayashi, and Sata would all go on to write autobiographical fiction about this time in their lives.[13] Finally, the purple line extending out of the diamond-shaped frame of the network and linking Hirabayashi with Enchi Fumiko marks how I see Enchi as a potential extension of the early Shōwa network. Her inclusion in the network, on the basis of her long friendship with Hirabayashi, would necessarily broaden the network's boundaries – in this case, to extend temporally further into the postwar Shōwa period, when Enchi was most active as a writer.

In looking at these writers linked together in a network, I do not use the term network as in the sociological or technological contexts of "network studies," nor do I mobilize any variant of actor-network theory. Rather, I utilize the schema of the network as a map along which to follow (and trace, or re-trace) the connections between writers across the multiple terrains of time and space, and through shifting intellectual and literary movements and changing material circumstances. In a network, there is space to consider the community-wide (or literary establishment-wide) implications of writers narrativizing their relationships with one another (or with other intellectual interlocutors),

[13] Hayashi discussed this time in her work *A Vagabond's Diary* (*Hōrōki*, 1928-1930), Hirabayashi wrote of it in *Desert Bloom* (*Sabaku no hana*, 1957), and Tsuboi commemorated it in *Wind* (*Kaze*, 1954).

while remaining attentive both to the great variety of forms personal and professional relationships can take, and to richness of literature drawn from life.

Looking at Hirabayashi within the context of the Women Writers' Association, an organization of Japanese women writers conceived as early as 1934 and lasting until 2007, one can further pinpoint her centrality within the network of her contemporaries.[14] Hirabayashi won the Women Writers' Association's inaugural "Women Writers' Prize" ("Joryū Bungakusha Shō" 女流文学者賞) in 1946 for *That Kind of Woman* (*Kōiu onna*, 1946).[15] She served as the association's third consecutive chair from 1955 to 1958,[16] her works comprised the first volume of the *Collected Works of Modern Women's Literature* (*Gendai joryū bungaku zenshū*, 1956) edited by the association,[17] and in 1970 she became the focus for the inaugural meeting of the association's series "Ask an Elder Woman Writer" ("Senpai Josei Sakka ni Kiku Kai").[18] In 1968, she even won the association's literary prize, by then renamed the "Women's Literature Prize" ("Joryū

[14] While the association's chronology cites 1934 as the year the organization was first conceived of at a meeting of contributors to the journal *Women's Review* (*Fujin Kōron*), its first meeting was not until 1936, according to the writer and early association advocate Yoshiya Nobuko. With Japan's involvement in the Second Sino-Japanese War from 1937, and the Pacific War from 1941 to 1945, the association faced delays to a true start until the postwar period. Although its members each seemed to have different senses of the purpose of the association in the postwar with regard to writing, after its initial link to some patriotic wartime efforts, most seemed to agree that the Women Writers' Association held value as a long-running space for women to gather together. See "Joryū Bungakusha Kai Ryaku Nenpu" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007), 238-240.

[15] See "Joryū Bungakusha Shō Jushōsaku Ichiran" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai, 243.

[16] A historical list of the Joryū Bungakusha Kai's chairs cites these years, and notes that the chronology in Hirabayashi's collected works (published in 1979) states that she assumed the position of chair (only) in 1957. See Ibid., 241.

[17] This collection was published by Nagashima Shobō (長嶋書房). The second volume in the series was on Tsuboi Sakae, the fourth on Sata Ineko, the fifth on Hayashi Fumiko, and the sixth on Yoshiya Nobuko. The contents of the other volumes in the series are unknown at this time. See Ibid., 239.

[18] The gathering, held at The Museum of Modern Japanese Literature (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan 日本近代文学館) was entitled "Hirabayashi Taiko shi ni kiku tsudoi." (Note that as early as 1970 the term *joryū sakka* had been replaced by *josei sakka* [女性作家] in the series' title.) The second iteration of the gathering highlighted Sata Ineko, while the third was on Enchi Fumiko. See Ibid., 239-240.

Bungaku Shō" 女流文学賞), a second time for "The Secret" ("Himitsu").[19] When Hirabayashi passed away in 1972, it was the Women Writers' Association that held her funeral service in her home, with the support of her daughter, Teshirogi Shinko (手代木新子). Enchi Fumiko, then the association's chair, was one of several literary association executives to speak at the service.[20]

In terms of literary scholarship, the landmark work *Research on Hirabayashi Taiko* (*Hirabayashi Taiko kenkyū*)[21] was published in 1985. Hirabayashi's life and works have garnered increasing attention from scholars and readers since then, and yet the archive of Hirabayashi scholarship remains relatively small. The dearth of scholarship is particularly clear in comparison with Hayashi, Miyamoto, and Sata.[22] The same state of

[19] Hirabayashi was one of eight women writers to win this prize two times, while the prize itself was awarded sixty-two times in total between 1946 and 2000. The other writers who won twice were Amino Kiku (網野菊), Ōtani Fujiko (大谷藤子), Enchi Fumiko, Ōhara Tomie (大原富枝), Harada Yasuko (原田康子), Uno Chiyo, and Shibaki Yoshiko (芝木好子). See Ibid., 243-246.

[20] Other literary elites who spoke at Hirabayashi's non-religious funeral service include Serizawa Kōjirō (芹沢光治良, then chair of the Japan P.E.N. Club, 日本ペンクラブ), Takeyama Michio (竹山道雄, then president of the Japan Culture Forum, 日本文化フォーラム), and Niwa Fumio (丹羽文雄, then chair of The Japan Writers' Association, 日本文芸家協会). See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 38. Enchi served as chair of the Joryū Bungakusha Kai for eighteen years, following Hirabayashi, from 1958-1976. Hers was the longest tenure of any chair of the organization in its history. As a testament to both Hirabayashi and Enchi's prominent links to the association, the last major event recorded in the association's chronology is a 2005 meeting honoring the centennial of Hirabayashi and Enchi's births. See Ibid., 240-241.

[21] This collection comprises essays written by scholars as well as readers with ties to Hirabayashi's hometown, and was inspired by a comment by the pioneering scholar of Japanese women's writing Watanabe Sumiko (渡邊澄子), to the effect that there were surprisingly few works of literary analysis devoted to Hirabayashi Taiko. See Shinshū Shirakaba hen, *Hirabayashi Taiko kenkyū*, 1.

[22] To consider even the accessibility of their writings, three editions of the collected works (*zenshū*) of Miyamoto Yuriko have been published since her death, and two posthumous editions of Hayashi Fumiko's selected works. Sata and Hirabayashi have each only had one edition of their collected works published. See Enchi Fumiko et al., eds., *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū,* 12 vols. (Ushio Shuppansha, 1976-1979); *Sata Ineko zenshū, 18 vols.* (Kōdansha, 1977-79); *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū*, 16 vols. (*Nihon bungaku zenshū senshū: sōkan dai 7-ji*, Bunsendō Shuppan, 1977); *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū,* 23 vols. (Shinchōsha, 1951-1953); Miyamoto Yuriko Zenshū Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Miyamoto Yuriko zenshū*, 15 vols. (Kawade Shobō, 1951-1953); *Miyamoto Yuriko zenshū*, 30 vols. (Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1979-1986); and *Miyamoto Yuriko zenshū, 33 vols.* (Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 2000-2004). There have been a variety of biographies and memoirs of Hirabayashi's life published, but only very few scholarly monographs on her work, even in Japanese. There exist, for example, the biographical summaries about Hirabayashi and translations of her works in the following English-language texts: George Saitō, trans., "A Man's Life" in Ivan Morris, ed.,

affairs can be found in English-language scholarship and translations, although growing interest in Japan's proletarian literature movement in recent years promises to help ameliorate this situation. The relative paucity of Hirabayashi scholarship belies Hirabayashi's popularity as a writer during her lifetime, her fame and occasional notoriety as a public figure, and her onetime status as one of the three most celebrated Japanese women writers in the postwar period.

* * *

Recent English-language scholarship has shed new light on women's relationships to print media and to the virtual networks they often created in modern Japan. Prominent examples are Deborah Shamoon's *Passionate Friendship: The*

Modern Japanese Stories (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode Publishers Ltd., 1961) 351-367; Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 1159-1162; Makoto Ueda, ed., "A Woman to Call Mother" in *The Mother of Dreams and Other Short Stories: Portrayals of Women in Modern Japanese Fiction* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1986) 211-223; Yukiko Tanaka, ed., "Self-Mockery" in *To Live and to Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers, 1913-1938* (Seattle: Seal Press, 1987) 65-75; Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden, eds., "Blind Chinese Soldiers" in *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth Century Short Fiction* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991) xvi, xix, 272-273; Chieko Mulhern, ed., *Japanese Women Writers: A Bio-critical Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994) 126-132; Sachiko Schierbeck, *Japanese Women Novelists: 104 Biographies 1900-1993* (University of Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994) 46-50; and "The Goddess Kishimo" in Charlotte Eubanks, "Re-writing the Myth of Motherhood: Short Stories by Okamoto Kanoko and Hirabayashi Taiko," *Critical Asian Studies* 33:2 (2001) 287-300. Japanese-language biographical studies, memoirs, and reference works on Hirabayashi include: Itagaki Naoko, *Hirabayashi Taiko* (Sakkaron shiriizu 10, Tōkyō Raifusha, 1956); Teshirogi Haruki, ed., *Hirabayashi Taiko Tsuitō Bunshū* (Hirabayashi Taiko Kinen Bungaku Kai, 1973); Kurahashi Taira, *Hirabayashi Taiko: Shinshū bundan shiriizu 1* (Nagano: Nanshin Nichinichi Shinbunsha, 1975); Toda Fusako, *Moete ikiyo: Hirabayashi Taiko no shōgai* (Shinchōsha, 1982); Abe Namiko, ed., *Hirabayashi Taiko: Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11* (Nichigai Asoshieetsu, 1985); Abe Namiko, *Hirabayashi Taiko: hana ni mi o* (Musashino Shobō, 1986); Miyasaka Katsuhiko, ed., *Hohoemi ni nite harukanare: Hirabayashi Taiko, Shinshū Jinbutsu Fūdoki: kindai o hiraku 8* (Nagano: Ginga Shobō, 1986); Murano Tamiko, *Sabaku no hito: joryū sakka no shin'en* (Musashino Shobō, 1989); Murano Tamiko, *Sabaku ni saku: Hirabayashi Taiko to watashi* (Musashino Shobō, 1991); Nakayama Kazuko, *Hirabayashi Taiko: Josei sakka hyōden shiriizu 8* (Shintensha, 1999); Nakayama Kazuko, ed. *Sakka no jiden* 93: *Hirabayashi Taiko* (Nihon Tosho Sentaa, 1999); Mure Yōko, *Yōsei to yōkai no aida: Hirabayashi Taiko den* (Bungei Shunjū, 2008); Murano Tamiko, *Koka* (Miyazaki: Kōmyakusha, 2012); and Murano Tamiko, *Toki o hotte: Hirabayashi Taiko o shinobu* (Kōmyakusha, 2012). Aside from these monographs, there are quite a few book chapters and articles of criticism concerning Hirabayashi in Japanese, and a slowly growing number of English articles as well. In contrast, there are multiple scholarly monographs on Hayashi, Sata, and Miyamoto in Japanese, and at least three English monographs on Hayashi. The relative abundance of criticism on Sata and Miyamoto must be seen as related to the existence of research groups devoted to the work of each author: the "Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai" and the "Takiji Yuriko Kenkyūkai" (which refers to Miyamoto and to Japanese Communist party martyr Kobayashi Takiji).

Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan; Dina Lowy's *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity*; Sarah Frederick's *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan*; Miyako Inoue's *Vicarious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity in Japan*; and Vera Mackie's *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900-1937*.[23] These studies constitute an important precedent for my methodological focus on women writers as part of a network. What sets my study apart, however, is its attempt to bring this historical and anthropological focus on women-in-network into productive dialogue with the study of "women's literature," a field that has tended to treat individual authors in isolation from each other.

From the standpoint of literary studies, Joan Ericson's *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature*, Michiko Suzuki's *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture,* and Noriko J. Horiguchi's *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* offer vital groundwork for my research.[24] While Ericson combines textual analysis of Hayashi Fumiko's *Diary of a Vagabond* (*Hōrōki*, 1928-29) with biographical research, treating Hayashi in the context of the concept of modern Japanese "women's literature," Suzuki discusses the prewar work of Miyamoto Yuriko within the sociohistorical context of

[23] See Deborah Shamoon, *Passionate Friendship: The Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012); Dina Lowy, *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); Miyako Inoue, *Vicarious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[24] See Joan E. Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997); Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); and Noriko J. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

popular Japanese intellectual discourses on love and modern female identity. Horiguchi considers Hayashi Fumiko as one of three modern Japanese women writers whose lives and works traversed the inner and outer territories of the Japanese empire, and through such border crossing expanded the gendered Japanese imperial body. My project differs from Ericson's, Suzuki's, and Horiguchi's not only in scope, but also in method, providing close readings of multiple works by five writers and situating those works within a social history of the writers' relationships with each other as part of a women's network. In a recent literary survey, *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity*, Sharalyn Orbaugh provides political readings of depictions of womanhood in several Occupation-era works by both Hirabayashi and Hayashi.[25] Whereas Orbaugh and Suzuki present glimpses of historically-bounded periods of activity in these respective writers' lives, I see the writers' lives and their relationships with one another as the most meaningful sites from which to consider the conveyance of literary movements and the development of literary innovation. Therefore, I choose to frame my study around the complete career of the network's central figure, Hirabayashi Taiko. While the scope of my project demands that I isolate for analysis selected moments from the careers of the other network members, I contextualize these moments within each writer's complete career. I believe this to be the first multi-author study of early Shōwa women writers in relation to each other over the courses of their careers.

* * *

Chapter One looks at Hirabayashi Taiko and Hayashi Fumiko. In mid-1920s Tokyo, just before Virginia Woolf's famous call for "A Room of One's Own," neither of

[25] See Sharalyn Orbaugh, "Production and Reproduction: Women Writing Women" in *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 335-385.

these aspiring Japanese women writers could even afford a *kimono* of her own. But *together* they were able to rent a small room in Tokyo where they could live and write as roommates. As self-supporting women writers from the working class, they shared not only a room but also a single kimono, which they took turns wearing in order to leave their room for such errands as meetings with editors. I consider how, despite the deprivation Hirabayashi and Hayashi suffered during this formative period in their careers, their friendship enabled their early literary pursuits and their successes as professional writers in modern Japan. In particular, I analyze their literary depictions of female relationships as a shared site of experimentation, characterizing Hayashi's portrayals of female relationships as a source of solace against discrimination, and Hirabayashi's as spaces within which class alliances prevail over shared gender identities. I also examine how both writers portray relationships between women in contrast with women's relationships with men.

The next two chapters treat Hirabayashi's relationships with two writers who themselves enjoyed a close-knit relationship: Sata Ineko and Miyamoto Yuriko. Chapter Two considers how Hirabayashi Taiko and Sata Ineko navigated the shift from writing semi-autobiographical short stories in the vein of proletarian literature during the prewar era to semi-autobiographical novellas and memoirs about their younger lives during and after the war. Both came to Tokyo as young women from impoverished circumstances, and their life trajectories continued to share several common elements. In particular, conflict between personal and political identities fueled the literary activity of both writers. Taking into consideration their interactions as members in the Women Writers' Association, I look at the differing ways in which they narrativized their personal,

political, and literary lives in fictionalized versions of their personal struggles, specifically Sata's *My Tokyo Map* (*Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, 1946-1948) and Hirabayashi's *Desert Bloom* (*Sabaku no hana*, 1957).

Chapter Three addresses Hirabayashi Taiko's relationship with her longtime rival, Miyamoto Yuriko. This node of the literary network spotlights Hirabayashi's ideological conflicts with Miyamoto, and underscores the ways in which their intellectual antagonisms affected perceptions of "women's literature" and "women writers" as unified concepts. While socialist revolutionary ideas initially inspired both the upper-middle class Miyamoto and the working-class Hirabayashi as they came of age in the 1920s, the two famously disagreed about the proper role of socialist political activism in Japan. In the last years of Hirabayashi's life, she recorded her antagonistic views of Miyamoto in a critical biography entitled *Miyamoto Yuriko* (1971-72), almost twenty years after Miyamoto's death. I treat this work together with Miyamoto's essay collection *Women and Literature* (*Fujin to bungaku*, 1948), examining how each writer positioned herself within the literary establishment through expository writings, how each responded to the other in such writings, and how their intellectual postures came to represent a "rivalry."

The epilogue examines the literary legacy of this innovative community of writers who "revived" women's writing in modern Japan. Here, I consider how Hirabayashi's relationship with Enchi Fumiko suggests how the networked lives and careers of these early Shōwa women writers affected the next generation of Japanese women writers. Enchi was a friend and fellow writer whose career peaked in postwar Japan. Like the women writers who populate the core chapters of this study, Enchi was affiliated with the

proletarian cultural movement (as a playwright) in the prewar era, although she distanced herself from leftist politics in the postwar era. Hirabayashi enjoyed a supportive personal and professional relationship with her for over forty years. As mentioned above, Enchi spearheaded the effort to provide material assistance for Hirabayashi's recovery from illness during the war. After Hirabayashi's death, Enchi contributed meaningfully to Hirabayashi's individual literary legacy, serving as the general editor for her collected works, to name but one example. I close my study with reference to Enchi and Hirabayashi's relationship by way of suggesting how Hirabayashi's life and works, interwoven with the lives and works of the writers in her network, have come to convey meaning to subsequent generations of writers and readers.

* * *

While Hirabayashi and her fellow women writers were viewed by their contemporaries in the Japanese literary establishment primarily as producers of "women's literature," they were involved in various mainstream literary movements, both pure and popular in nature, and they experimented with multiple genres and writing styles.[26] Critics have long since sought to rectify the marginalization of women's literary production wrought by the definition and application of the terms *joryū bungaku* and

[26] Japanese "women's literature" was considered distinct from, or at times overlapping with (but not equal to) "pure literature" (*junbungaku,* 純文学). This distinction occurred despite the term "women's literature" not explicitly marking any one literary style or mode beyond the sex of its author. Gender stereotypes and implicit gender biases worked not only to amplify the term as a marker of difference from literature written by men, but also to associate it with literary styles assumed to be "female" or "feminine," which then supported a view of "women's literature" as a literary style or mode eligible for ranking in comparison with other styles. Of the writers in this study, Miyamoto had the most success breaking out of the mold of "women's literature," receiving mainstream critical acclaim as an "I-novelist" in her early career, and later, as a writer of proletarian literature. (Note that the powerful role of her husband, Communist Party figurehead Miyamoto Kenji 宮本顕治, in the crafting of her posthumous literary legacy cannot be ignored here.) I would also point to Hirabayashi's work in the genres of gangster fiction and detective fiction, Hayashi's popular fiction (*taishū bungaku*), and Sata's essays (*zuihitsu*) as they constitute realms in which those writers were read outside of the discourse of "women's literature."

joryū sakka.[27] The generation of critics active during the rise of women's studies (*joseigaku* 女性学) in the Japanese academy from the mid-1980s onward, among them Mizuta Noriko (水田宗子) and Watanabe Sumiko (渡邊澄子), called into question the utility of the label "women's literature" as a literary category, critiqued how the label was applied to particular women writers in practice, and gauged the practical and literary historiographical ramifications of its application over time.[28] In line with these ongoing efforts, I treat Hirabayashi and her fellow "reviv[ers] of writing by women"[29] in modern Japan within the context of the discourse of "women's literature," wherein their labeling as "women writers" (*joryū sakka* or *fujin sakka*) also marked them as members of a

[27] In part, this process involved amending the Japanese terminology. The phrase "*joryū bungaku*" ("women's literature") was replaced with "*josei bungaku*" ("women's writing"), and "*joryū sakka*" with "*josei sakka*" ("woman writer"), so as to do away with the "female-school," "feminine-style" nuances of meaning present in "*joryū*" in favor of the more objective term "*josei*" ("woman" or "women"). Just as the term "women's literature" is not used today to label writing by women because it implies that all literature by women exhibits some kind of female-coded literary style, but "women's writing" is considered to objectively describe writing by women without ascribing it any value or qualities associated with the female gender, "*josei bungaku*" is seen as the objective alternative to the dated term "*joryū bungaku*." See, for example, such works of feminist literary criticism of modern Japanese women's writing as: Iwabuchi Hiroko, Kitada Sachie, and Kōra Rumiko hen, *Feminizumu hihyō e no shōtai: kindai josei bungaku o yomu* (Gakugei Shorin, 1995); Iwabuchi Hiroko and Kitada Sachie, eds., *Hajimete manabu Nihon josei bungaku shi: Kingendaihen* (Shiriizu Nihon no bungakushi 6, Mineruva Shobō, 2005); Josei Bungaku Kai hen, Josei bungaku no kindai (Sōbunsha Shuppan, 1994); Mizuta Noriko and Kitada Sachie hen, *Yamanbatachi no monogatari: josei no genkei to katarinaoshi* (Gakugei Shorin, 2002); Okano Yukie, *Onnatachi no kioku: "kindai" no kaitai to josei bungaku* (Sōbunsha Shuppan, 2008); Shin Feminizumu Hihyō no Kai hen, *Higuchi Ichiyō o yominaosu* (Gakugei Shorin, 1994); Shin Feminizumu Hihyō no Kai hen, *"*Seitō*" o yomu* (Gakugei Shorin, 1998); Shin Feminizumu Hihyō no Kai hen, *Meiji josei bungaku ron* (Kanrin Shobō, 2007); Shin Feminizumu Hihyō no Kai hen, *Taishō josei bungaku ron* (Kanrin Shobō, 2010); and Watanabe Sumiko, ed., *Josei bungaku o manabu hito no tame ni* (Sekai Shisōsha, 2000).

[28] See "A Categorical Revision" in Joan E. Ericson, *Be A Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 29-33. This first generation of scholars who shifted the discourse toward the use of "*josei sakka*" and "*josei bungaku*" in Japanese literary studies have been followed by a great number of feminist literary critics and scholars, including Kobayashi Fukuko (小林富久子), Iwami Teruyo (岩見照代), Iwabuchi Hiroko (岩淵宏子), Kitada Sachie (北田幸恵), and Okano Yukie (岡野幸恵), to name but a select few. There has been an increasing amount of revisionist feminist scholarship of women's writing in Japan, which has sought to recoup these historiographical biases. A large portion of this work has necessarily involved the initial projects of constructing of a body of scholarship devoted to women's writing and preserving an archive of women's writing for future study. Some foundational feminist critical works from this moment read – and performatively named – "men's writing" in contrast to "women's literature." See, for example, Egusa Mitsuko et al., *Dansei sakka o yomu: Feminizumu hihyō no seijuku e (Women Reading Male Japanese Writers)* (Shinyōsha, 1994); and Ueno Chizuko, Ogura Chikako, and Tomioka Taeko, *Danryū bungaku ron* (Chikuma Shobō, 1992).

[29] See Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 1113.

separate "women's literary establishment" (*joryū bundan*). If indeed such an establishment existed, it is incumbent upon us to consider how the personal and professional relationships it comprised affected the course of women's writing in modern Japan. I consider these relationships in order to suggest new avenues for contextualizing and evaluating the work of women writers from the present-day perspective of feminist literary criticism.[30]

In this sense, I argue for the relevance of the study of networks (broadly defined) to modern Japanese literary history, and in particular, to the study of how modern Japanese women writers functioned as a network. While critics and scholars of modern Japanese literature working in both Japanese and English have given a prominent place to studies of literary coteries, limited run periodicals (*dōjin zasshi* 同人雑誌), poetic and literary lineages, and collaboration in literary production, network studies have tended to occur more frequently among scholars of premodern Japan or those studying literature within the field of history.[31]

An additional goal of my study is to address the innovations of these writers aside from their well-known work in proletarian literature, because at times their reputations have been reduced to those works and that literary moment (especially in English-

[30] Women writers in early Shōwa Japan faced a paradox whereby they were granted acceptance among the company of established male writers of *junbungaku* (albeit within the separate *joryū bundan*) by doing the things that male writers did – such as incorporating autobiographical elements in their fiction, depicting their personal romantic relationships and personal dramas, portraying their interior struggles to define their political affiliations, forming a persona as a writer separate from a personal identity, experimenting with literary genres, writing criticism, etc. – but male critics nonetheless defaulted to labeling women writers' contributions as "women's literature" (*joryū bungaku*) on the basis of the writers' sex. Women were doubly labeled by their sex and their supposed gendered styles as writers, while men were exempt from such gendered analysis of either their writing or their literary personas.

[31] See, for example, the online work in progress of the early modern Japan-focused "Network Studies" research unit based at the Institute of Comparative Culture, Sophia University (Tokyo), at http://network-studies.org/ (Accessed on April 22, 2012). See also Steven D. Carter, *Householders: The Reizei Family in Japanese History* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph series, 61, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

language scholarship), and because their full careers exhibited much more breadth and depth of creativity in other literary sub-fields. The selective characterization of Hirabayashi and her fellow women writers in terms of their relationship to the proletarian literature movement reduces these writers to the moments at which they arrived on the literary scene as novices, who, while having made powerful debuts, were nevertheless at their least established positions as writers. In this sense, the longstanding focus on their work as proletarian writers effectively subjugates the heritage of their long, productive careers – which were full of innovations across genres that resulted from active engagement with central literary issues, male colleagues and their works, and each other – to their earliest works which, I would argue, represent but one, limited moment of their careers as writers.

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As mentioned above, my network frame is crucially undergirded by a longstanding appraisal within Japanese literary history of three of the writers I study, Hirabayashi, Miyamoto, and Hayashi, as constituting a triad of the strongest women writers of the early postwar era in Japan. Miyamoto Yuriko passed away on January 21, 1951, at age 51, and just a few months later, on June 28, Hayashi Fumiko died at the age of 47. These sudden deaths in quick succession radically refigured the literary community and diverted new attentions to the work of Miyamoto and Hayashi's contemporary, Hirabayashi Taiko. In some sense, the deaths of Miyamoto and Hayashi meant that Hirabayashi had won, by default, the competition for influence, if only in that she would

accede to an uncontested position of authority for the subsequent years of her life and career.[32]

These events of 1951 appear to have had an enduring impact on Hirabayashi. As if crafting a coda to her own literary career as a contemporary of Miyamoto and Hayashi, Hirabayashi penned extended critical biographies (*hyōden*) of both writers in the last years of her life.[33] The coincidental timing of Miyamoto and Hayashi's sudden deaths in 1951, and Hirabayashi's choice to write about them as she battled illnesses which led to her own death in 1972 further bolstered, and added an almost spectral dimension to, the connections between these three writers in life and in writing.

Scholars and memoirists of Hirabayashi, and to a lesser extent those of Hayashi and Miyamoto, often cite one particular anecdote to refer to this trio's interpersonal connections in life and in legacy.[34] It is a comment literary critic Hirotsu Kazuo (広津和郎) is said to have made upon leaving Hayashi Fumiko's funeral service, where many established writers and critics had been in attendance. In an essay titled "Hirabayashi Taiko," novelist and proletarian literary theorist Aono Suekichi (青野季吉) recalled that "Hirotsu Kazuo kept saying, 'Miyamoto Yuriko, Hayashi Fumiko, Hirabayashi Taiko – the appearance of these three women writers who were each others' equals was truly an

[32] Although Miyamoto's literary career had begun approximately ten years before Hirabayashi and Hayashi's own literary debuts, Hirabayashi went on to write for twenty more years after their deaths. See Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love & Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature & Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2010), 77, 79; and Ōmori Sueko, "Nenpu," in *Miyamoto Yuriko zenshū: Bessatsu* (Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 2004), 16-34.
[33] I address Hirabayashi's *Miyamoto Yuriko* (1971-72) in Chapter Three, and touch briefly upon her *Hayashi Fumiko* (1969) in Chapter One.
[34] See, for example, Iwahashi Kunie, "Kaisetsu: Jikkanteki hyōden no kessaku," 277; Takayama Kyōko, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono jidai* (Ronsōsha, 2010) 334; and Watanabe Sumiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko ron" in Shinshū Shirakaba hen, *Hirabayashi Taiko kenkyū*, 131.

unprecedented spectacle in the literary establishment, one we won't be likely to see a second time.' I couldn't help but agree with him."[35]

Critiquing writers in relation to one another or in terms of their particular relationships with one another, as distilled into this enduring anecdote, has occurred commonly in literary histories of the Shōwa period. The practice persists even today in Heisei Japan (1989-present), as visible in the writings of authors such as Setouchi Jakuchō (瀬戸内寂聴), who, as Setouchi Harumi (瀬戸内晴美) in the early Shōwa literary establishment, lived through much of the same time period as the early Shōwa women writers in my study.[36] As someone who not only knew the early Shōwa women writers by name but also wrote fiction and criticism among them for many years, Setouchi has come to be seen as an elder representative of that era and network of women writers.[37]

Hirotsu's anecdote about Hayashi, Hirabayashi and Miyamoto, oft-repeated as it may be, has served, along with such writings as Setouchi's, to emphasize the

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[35] 「広津和郎が、宮本百合子、林芙美子、平林たい子と、この三人の女流作家が並び立った姿は、まことに文壇空前の状観で、今後再び見ることはできないであろうと繰返し語っていた。わたしはそれに同感を禁じ得なかった.」See Aono Suekichi, "Kaisetsu: Hirabayashi Taiko," in *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū 39* (Chikuma Shobō, 1955). Aono elaborated upon this anecdote in his essay, going on to characterize Hirabayashi, Miyamoto, and Hayashi as each possessing a singular mastery over a particular literary component: Hayashi had passion (*jōnetsu* 情熱), Miyamoto had intellect (*chisei* 知性), and Hirabayashi had [a strength of] will (*iryoku* 意力). See Watanabe Sumiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko ron" in Shinshū Shirakaba, eds., *Hirabayashi Taiko kenkyū*, 131. Whether Hirabayashi shared Aono and Hirotsu's interpretations of the meaning of the moment after Hayashi's death in 1951, it is curious to note that she went on to write a variety of essays and memoirs on these writers after their deaths, over the next 20 years of her life.

[36] Setouchi's life and literature are commemorated in her native prefecture of Tokushima, Japan, at the Tokushima Kenritsu Bungaku Shodō Kan (徳島県立文学書道館), of which she is the director.

[37] Now a Buddhist nun and well known public figure, Setouchi has continued to reap abundant publishing opportunities to discuss her memoirs and experiences from that time in various literary histories, roundtable discussions, conversations, journals, and monographs. See, for example, Setouchi Harumi, Kōno Taeko, and Hirabayashi Taiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko-san ni kiku: shōsetsu dake o kakōtoshitan janai" in Enchi Fumiko et al., *Joryū sakka wa kataru* (Shūeisha, 1978); Setouchi Harumi, ed, *Hi to moeta joryū bungaku: Jinbutsu kindai joseishi* (Kōdansha Bunko, Kōdansha, 1989); Setouchi Jakuchō, Tadanori Yokoo, ill., *Kien Mandara* (Nihon Keizai Shinbun Shuppansha, 2008); and Ozaki Mariko, *Setouchi Jakuchō ni kiku Jakuchō bungakushi* (*Chūō Kōron* Shinsho, 2009).

interconnected relationship of these three women as central to modern Japanese women's literature. Thus it continues to serve as a compelling starting point for the study of these writers today. Indeed, it can be said that without understanding how relations between modern Japanese women writers shaped the terrain upon which "women's literature" took root in Japan, we cannot fully grasp the meaning of the label itself much less the work it was intended to signify.

Chapter One: "A Kimono of Their Own: Female Friendship in the Lives and Works of Hirabayashi Taiko and Hayashi Fumiko"

In her 1929 essay "A Room of One's Own," Virginia Woolf argued that "a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction."[1] In Tokyo just a few years earlier, neither Hirabayashi Taiko nor Hayashi Fumiko could even afford a *kimono* of her own, much less a room. But *together* they were able to pool their resources and rent a small room in Tokyo where they could live and write, and they were even happy to share a single *kimono* for going out to meet with editors.[2] In this chapter I

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[1] See Virginia Woolf, "A Room of One's Own," in Miriam Schneir, ed., *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 345. "A Room of One's Own" was originally published in 1929 by Hogarth Press (England) and Harcourt Brace & Co. (U.S.).

[2] Yukiko Tanaka includes a description of how Hayashi and Hirabayashi "shared one outfit of clothing" during the time they lived together in her biography of Hirabayashi accompanying her translation of Hirabayashi's story "Self-Mockery" ("Azakeru"). See Yukiko Tanaka, ed., *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913-1938* (Seattle: The Seal Press, 1987), 70. This anecdote about the two writers sharing a kimono can be traced loosely to several sources, although which of these may have informed scholars writing literary biographies of Hayashi and Hirabayashi in English is generally unclear. Tanaka does not cite the sources she used to write her biography of Hirabayashi. As I describe later on in this chapter, Hirabayashi and Hayashi often wrote about the poverty they both experienced in the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods in terms of their lack of, or desire for, possessions -- including kimono -- and how they traded their few possessions in at pawnshops when in need of money. Both authors have also recounted moments in their young lives in Tokyo when the lack of appropriate clothing meant they had to either borrow or share a kimono (or piece of outerwear) with a friend. Hayashi in particular has written about cobbling together hers and Hirabayashi's belongings to create a makeshift *futon* when they had no bedding. These recollections suggest the likelihood that Hayashi and Hirabayashi might have similarly found themselves in need of pooling their sartorial resources as well at the moment when they lived together, and lend plausibility to the anecdote. Hirabayashi also includes a lyrical passage in her essay "Sunflower: A Record of My Life in the Gutter" in which she describes how early in their friendship, she and Hayashi spent their days pawning their *yukata* (lightweight kimono) for twenty *sen*, and going without clothes while they washed their one kimono. This anecdote, and the following comment of Hirabayashi's in conversation with Takami Jun (高見順), come closest to a depiction of Hirabayashi and Hayashi sharing a kimono as I have found in their own writings. In response to Takami's comment that women writers like Hayashi Fumiko faced a level of poverty that seemed unimaginable to him (in the postwar), Hirabayashi claimed, "That was constant, the two of us taking turns alternating wearing one *yukata*. But that kind of thing wasn't a hardship, really. What you'd call poverty wasn't a hardship at all." (「二人で一枚の浴衣を替り番こに着たりするの、しょっちゅうでしたよ。でも、そんなことは苦労じゃありませんでしたね。貧乏なんていうことは、全然苦労じゃありませんでした。」) See Hirabayashi, "Himawari: Wa ga donzoko hanseiki" in *HTZ*: 12, 16; and "Shōwa no joryū sakka" in Takami Jun, *Taidan Gendai bundan shi*, Chikuma Sōsho 231 (Chikuma Shobō, 1976) 263. In "Joryū sakka zadankai," a "women writers'" roundtable discussion from 1951 between Yoshiya Nobuko, Hayashi Fumiko, Sata Ineko, and Hirabayashi Taiko, Hirabayashi and Hayashi also brought up their sharing kimono with one another. In a discussion of their experiences as some of the first women writers to write to try to sell their fiction, Hirabayashi noted, "At that time, payment for a manuscript was thirty *sen* per page. I would put on my

explore a model for female authorship that departs from Woolf's famous pronouncement. Whereas Woolf's manifesto argued for the importance of securing a space for female solitude, I present a historical case study from modern Japan that demonstrates how female friendship, even in the closest of quarters, can nurture aspiring women writers.

First, I briefly introduce Hirabayashi and Hayashi, describing the circumstances of their shared living experience at the beginning of their writing careers. I then draw from both writers' written recollections of that time and of their friendship, as well as from their literature modeled after those same topics, to consider the significance each writer (or each writer's view of their friendship with the other) appears to have held in the life of the other. I then analyze several excerpts spanning each of their bodies of literature in which female friendship comprises a significant motif. Finally, I perform close readings of these fictional friendships to consider the resonance of the Hirabayashi-Hayashi friendship and the import of each writer's literary depictions of female friendship for their literary development.

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kimono, tatami marks visible in it from having slept on to press it, and go out to sell my manuscripts…" to which Hayashi replied, "When I borrowed Taiko's kimono, I kept it for a long time, didn't I, mending it here and there [she laughed]." (「**平林**：『あのころ、原稿料は一枚三〇銭よ。寝敷きして畳のあとのついた着物を着て原稿を売りに行って….』／**林**『わたしがたい子さんの着物を借りたら、ユキが長いでしょう、縫い上げをして（笑声）』) See Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007), 77. Tanaka and others may have also drawn their description of Hirabayashi and Hayashi sharing a kimono from a fictional (or narrative) biography of Hirabayashi written by Kurashina Taira, a fellow female resident of the area of Nagano Prefecture from which Hirabayashi hailed, who was born a few years after Hirabayashi. Kurashina alludes to Hirabayashi and Hayashi's tendency to take turns borrowing from and lending their *haori* (a jacket-like garment worn over a kimono) to one another. She even links this tendency to an early falling out between the two, when Hayashi was careless with Hirabayashi's sole *haori*. Kurashina claims that once when Hirabayashi needed a *haori*, she went to reclaim hers from Hayashi, who had been borrowing it, but Hayashi had done something with it and couldn't return it to her. In its place, Hayashi gave Hirabayashi a *haori* of her own, but she later supposedly claimed to others that she had only lent to Hirabayashi (temporarily). See Kurashina Taira, (*Shōsetsu*) *Hirabayashi Taiko* (*Shinshū bundan shiriizu 1*) (Nagano: Nanshin Nichinichi Shinbunsha, 1975), 257-258.

Hirabayashi Taiko and Hayashi Fumiko: Two Working-Class Women Take on 1920s Tokyo

Hirabayashi Taiko was born to a working-class family in rural Nagano prefecture in 1905. She lived and studied in Nagano until the day she graduated from her girls' high school, when she moved immediately to Tokyo to pursue the life of an intellectual. She wrote fiction, criticism, and personal essays from the mid 1920s until her death in 1972. Her work spans a variety of literary genres such as children's literature, autobiographical fiction, proletarian literature, "poison woman tales" (*dokufumono*),[3] and even detective fiction and gangster fiction (*yakuzamono*), two genres in which she was surely among the first women to experiment. Her writing style is forceful, sardonic, and ideologically conscious. This has meant that at times her writing (and, by association, she herself) has been characterized as "masculine," particularly in contrast to her fellow women writers. She is best known today for her early works of proletarian literature, such as the short

[3] *Dokufu shōsetsu*, "poison woman novels" (or *dokufumono*, "poison woman tales"), have traversed multiple media from the 1870s through the 20th century, narrating the lives and crimes of notorious female criminals primarily based on historical personages. Despite sharing the label of "poison woman" (*dokufu*), these women only sometimes poisoned their enemies; other crimes they committed included robbery and murder. Christine Marran characterizes the poison woman as "a persuasive body for articulating the politics of reproductive morality, female domesticity, sex practices, and the dilemma of the underclass woman," whose "voracious sexual desire … was nearly always claimed, explicitly or implicitly, to be the primary source for her criminality," and which marked her as "treacherous not only because she had murdered or stolen but because she exceeded the bounds of femininity and social propriety." Arguably the most notorious *dokufu*, Takahashi Oden (高橋お伝), was beheaded in 1879 for murder of a Tokyo merchant. Hirabayashi has told her tale in her 1951 work "Takahashi Oden," as have many others, including Okamoto Kisen (岡本起泉) in *Her Name Too Infamous: Poison Woman Takahashi Oden; A Strange Tokyo Tale* (Sono na mo Takahashi: Dokufu no shōden: Tōkyō kibun, 1879) and Kanagaki Robun (仮名垣魯文) in "The Story of Oden" ("Oden no hanashi") and *The Tale of Demon Takahashi Oden* (*Takahashi Oden yasha monogatari*, 1879). See Christine L. Marran, *Poison Woman: Figuring Female Transgression in Modern Japanese Culture* (University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xiii, xv, 1-8; Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū Vol. 5* (Ushio Shuppansha, 1977) 321-339; and Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hirabayashi Taiko dokufu shōsetsushū* (Kodansha Bungei Bunko ひ F3, Kodansha, 2006), 7-43. [NB: *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū*, Hirabayashi's collected works, published from 1976-79, are hereafter abbreviated as *HTZ*: [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers*.] The writer and literary historian Setouchi Jakuchō (瀬戸内寂聴) has hypothesized that Hirabayashi may have been drawn to write about "poison women" because their abundance of passion seemed to mirror Hirabayashi's own life. See "Hirabayashi Taiko no tsūkai" in Ozaki Mariko, *Setouchi Jakuchō ni kiku Jakuchō bungakushi* (*Chūō Kōron* Shinsho, 2009), 120.

story "Self-Mockery" ("Azakeru," 1927)[4] which drew from her personal experiences and critiqued the sexism women faced within Japan's socialist and leftist communities, and for her postwar autobiographical fiction describing her experiences with illness and political repression during wartime.

Hayashi Fumiko was born two years before Hirabayashi, in 1903, to another working-class family in the southern prefecture of Kita-Kyushu. She attended a girls' high school in Hiroshima prefecture, from which she graduated in the same year as Hirabayashi despite their age difference, and, like Hirabayashi, came to Tokyo soon after. Her main goal was to accompany her fiancé who was studying in Tokyo but after they broke their engagement, she remained in Tokyo and worked to establish herself professionally as a writer. Hayashi wrote mainly poetry and popular fiction, but also worked in the genres of children's literature, personal essays, diaries, and travelogues. Unlike Hirabayashi, however, Hayashi moved away from autobiographical writing later in her career. Her career spanned from the late 1920s through 1951, when she died suddenly of heart failure.

Hayashi's writing, in contrast to Hirabayashi's, was heavily lyrical, melodramatic, and rich with poetic rhythm and attention to language. These traits contributed to her reception by critics as an exemplar of "feminine" writing. Also in contrast to Hirabayashi, Hayashi disavowed any interest in the ideological, and even collaborated in the production of imperial Japan's so-called "productivity literature" (*seisan bungaku*) during wartime. By far the best-known early work of Hayashi's is *Diary of a Vagabond* (*Hōrōki*), her autobiographical poetic diary first serialized in the journal *Women's Arts* (*Nyonin*

[4] See Hirabayashi, "Azakeru," in *HTZ*: 1, 40-59.

Geijutsu) from 1928, which told of her itinerant, impoverished young life in Tokyo.[5] Later in her career, several of her popular novels were made into films, such as *Floating Clouds* (*Ukigumo*, 1951), which was adapted for the cinema by the director Naruse Mikio (成瀬巳喜男) in 1955.

Hirabayashi Taiko and Hayashi Fumiko's Early Shōwa Friendship

Hayashi and Hirabayashi met for the first time in Tokyo in 1924, as part of the same group of anarchist intellectuals and artists.[6] Hirabayashi, like Hayashi, had begun writing while a student at a girls' high school. In the mid 1920s, the two made their first efforts to publish their works and make their living as a writer. In 1925, they lived as neighbors in the Taishidō (太子堂) section of Setagaya Ward (世田谷区) in Tokyo while Hirabayashi shared a room with her lover Iida Tokutarō, and Hayashi with Nomura

[5] See Hayashi Fumiko, *Hōrōki* (*Shin'ei bungaku sōsho*, Kaizōsha, July 1930); and Hayashi Fumiko, *Zoku Hōrōki* [*Hōrōki*: *The Sequel*] (*Shin'ei bungaku sōsho*, Kaizōsha, November 1930). *Hōrōki* and *Zoku Hōrōki* were initially published in monthly installments in the literary journal *Women's Arts* (*Nyonin Geijutsu*) from October 1928 through December 1929, and April through October 1930. See also Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* and *Hōrōki Dai-nibu* in *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū*, Vol. 1 (*Nihon bungaku zenshū senshū: sōkan dai 7-ji*, Bunsendō Shuppan, 1977), 265-356 and 357-446. [NB: This 1977 16-volume edition of Hayashi's collected works is hereafter abbreviated as *HFZ*: [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers*.] A second sequel was serialized in the journal *Nihon Shōsetsu* in its May 1947, June 1947, November 1947, January 1948, March 1948, May 1948, June 1948, August 1948, and September 1948 issues, and later published as a discrete volume by both Rume Shoten and Shinchōsha. See Hayashi Fumiko, *Hōrōki: Daisanbu*, (Rume Shoten, January 1949); Hayashi Fumiko, *Hōrōki II* (Hayashi Fumiko Bunko, Shinchōsha, December 1949); Hayashi Fumiko, *Hōrōki daisanbu* in *HFZ*: 1, 447-547; and Imagawa Hideko, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 304-307.

[6] While this was not a formal group affiliated with any one particular artistic or intellectual movement or publishing venue, many of the writers, poets, and artists held interests in anarchism and Dadaism. Besides Hayashi and Hirabayashi, Hagiwara Kyōjirō (萩原恭次郎), Tsuboi Shigeji (壺井繁治), Okamoto Jun (岡本潤), Takahashi Shinkichi (高橋新吉), Ono Tōzaburō (小野十三郎), Kanbe Yūichi (神戸雄一), Tsuji Jun (辻潤), Nomura Kichiya (野村吉哉), Iida Tokutarō (飯田徳太郎), and Okada Tatsuo (岡田龍男) often met at a café called "Lebanon" (レバノン) on the second floor of the Nantendō (南天堂) bookstore in the Hongō area of Tokyo. They published in such journals as the Dadaist *Damu damu* (*Dum-dum*) and *Mavo*. See Imagawa Hideko, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 289; and Abe Namiko, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Nichigai Asoshieetsu, 1985), 8-9.

Kichiya.[7] In June of that year, Hirabayashi and Hayashi worked in the same restaurant near Shibuya station, and it was around this time as well that they went out together to try to sell their children's stories to publishers. Both Hirabayashi and Hayashi moved from Taishidō to different lodgings with their lovers, but neither relationship lasted, and in late 1926, Hayashi moved in with Hirabayashi to a rented room on the second floor above a liquor store not far from Tokyo University.[8]

At the point when Hirabayashi and Hayashi moved in with one another, Hirabayashi was at the start of an increasingly prolific writing and publishing streak. She had begun to steadily publish essays and fiction in the proletarian literary journal *Literary Front* (*Bungei Sensen* 『文芸戦線』) since September of 1925, (when she debuted with an essay entitled, "Women Writers! Prostitutes!," or "Fujin sakka yo, shōfu yo!"). In the second half of 1925 she had also begun drafting "A Life Selling Mourning Bands" ("Moshō o uru seikatsu")[9] and "Throw It All Away!" ("Nagesuteyo!"), which would become two of her breakout works of autobiographical proletarian literature. In addition, from 1925 to early 1927 Hirabayashi found success publishing a number of works of

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[7] Other writers and artists who lived nearby at this moment included Tsuboi Shigeji and Tsuboi Sakae (壺井栄) and writers connected to the journal *Literary Front* (*Bungei Sensen*) including Kuroshima Denji (黒島伝治) and Maedakō Hiroichirō (前田河広一郎). See Imagawa, "Nenpu" in *HFZ*: 16, 289.

[8] In November of 1926, Hirabayashi split with her on-and-off lover Yamamoto Torazō (山本虎三), whom she had started to see again when her relationship with Iida was on the rocks. The following month she moved in to a room on the second floor above a liquor store called Daikokuya located at 64 Oiwakechō in Hongō-ku (present-day 1-17 Mukōgaoka, Bunkyō-ku). Hayashi joined Hirabayashi here after discovering Nomura had been seeing another woman behind her back. In the middle of this busy month for Hirabayashi, she was introduced to *Bungei Sensei* colleague Kobori Jinji (小堀甚二) in a matchmaking meeting at the home of Yamada Seizaburō (山田清三郎), the editor of the journal. He proposed marriage a few days later. Hirabayashi accepted, and the two were married in mid-January 1927. They moved in with one another in February 1927. See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 9-11.

[9] The title of this story was changed twice, to "Moshō o uru" (「喪章を売る」 "Selling Mourning Bands") and then to "Zanpin" (「残品」 "Unsold Goods") by the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*; when republished by the Bungei Sensensha Shuppanbu in a collection of Hirabayashi's stories entitled *Seryōshitsu ni te*『施療室にて』, its title was again changed by request of that publisher to "Azakeru" (「嘲る」 "Self-Mockery"), the title by which it is commonly known today. See Abe Namiko, ed., "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," in *HTZ*: 12, 340-341; and Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 9-12.

children's literature and detective fiction. While living with Hayashi, Hirabayashi saw her stories "The Old Cupboard" ("Furutodana") and "From the Diary of A Foolish Woman" ("Orokanaru onna no nikki kara") run in *Literary Front* and *Literary Market* (*Bungei Shijō* 『文芸市場』), respectively.[10] Also during this period, Hirabayashi formed the Social Literature Alliance (Shakai Bungei Renmei 社会文芸連盟) with Hayashi and several other women writers as an organization to connect women in pursuit of leftist literature.[11] The group published a mission statement, "The Advance of the Women's Literary Movement" ("Josei bungei undō no shinshutsu"), in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* on December 30, 1926. Toward the end of her time living with Hayashi, Hirabayashi had already established herself securely enough among the writers affiliated with *Literary Front* to request of her editor there a marriage introduction.[12]

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[10] Hirabayashi's first published short stories appeared in the February 1922 (Vol. 7, No. 2) and July 1922 (Vol. 7, No. 7) issues of the periodical *Prose Club* (*Bunshō Kurabu* 「文章倶楽部」): "One Night" ("Aru yo"「或る夜」) and "The Paulownia Flower" ("Kiri no hana"「桐の花」), respectively. She returned to publishing her writing again starting in 1925. That year, her children's stories "Shōkichi and the Whistle" ("Shōkichi to fue"「庄吉と笛」) and "The Mysterious Teakettle" ("Nazo no chagama"「謎の茶釜」) ran in a supplement to the *Yomiuri Shinbun* called *Women and Children* (*Fujin to kodomo* 「婦人と子供」) and the magazine *Boys' and Girls' Sea of Tales* (*Shōnen Shōjo Tankai* 「少年少女譚海」), respectively. Her second work published in *Literary Front*, an essay entitled "Various Complaints" ("Warukuchi shuju"「悪口種々」) ran in its December 1925 issue. Aside from the two works Hirabayashi saw published while living with Hayashi, in 1926 she also published two children's stories, two short stories, two detective stories, and one essay. See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 43-44.

[11] The other women writers in the group were Yagi Akiko (八木秋子), Wakasugi Toriko (若杉鳥子), and Karube Kiyoko (軽部清子). After their opening ceremony on December 27, 1926, they held a workshop with critic Mochizuki Yuriko (望月百合子), among others, to take the opportunity to shift from an anarchist perspective to a Marxist perspective. Together they also discussed the difficulties most members had faced in trying to write while also managing households as married women, which had resulted in several members' recent divorces or separations from former lovers. See Abe, ed., "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," in *HTZ*: 12, 341; Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 10; and Hirabayashi Taiko, "Watashi no rirekisho" in *HTZ*: 12, 57.

[12] The productivity Hirabayashi experienced during the period she lived with Hayashi continued apace for almost the next ten years, until at age 33 in 1938, she contracted pleurisy and peritonitis while imprisoned in place of Kobori. (He had been targeted during a crackdown on leftists.) From 1938 to 1946, Hirabayashi wrote very little as she battled illness and wartime deprivation. Yet after she and Hayashi moved out from their shared room in 1927, Hirabayashi went on to win two hundred yen in prize money from the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* for her work "Moshō o uru," in early 1927; this same occasion was seen to have marked her entrance into the literary establishment. She wrote her acclaimed autobiographical short story "Seryōshitsu

In contrast to Hirabayashi, Hayashi's own prolific period of writing fiction and poetry and achieving publishing success began in the months after their time spent living together. Prior to moving in with Hirabayashi, Hayashi had published several poems under the pen name Akinuma Yōko (秋沼陽子) in local Hiroshima newspapers in 1921, and then in 1923, under the pen name Hayashi Fumiko (林芙美子),[13] she began to write her "poem diary" (*uta nikki*), which would later form the basis for parts of *Diary of a Vagabond* and her first poetry collection, *I Saw a Pale Horse* (*Aouma o mitari* 『青馬を見たり』, 1929).[14] The year she met Hirabayashi, 1924, she had one poem published in *Literary Front*, and she self-published three issues of a poetry journal, *We Two* (*Futari* 『二人』) with fellow poet Tomotani Shizue (友谷静栄).[15] Then, while living with Hirabayashi, Hayashi continued to draft poetry and keep her poetic diary, publishing two poems: "Lament" ("Kurushii uta") in the September issue of *Literary Market*, and "My Ship Has Sailed" ("Noridashita fune dakedo") in the December issue of *Literary Front*.[16]

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nite" ("In a Charity Ward") later that year, followed by the story "Sanagi to isshoni" in late 1927, and "Yokaze," "Murasaki no haori," "Haguruma," "Seikatsu," and "Naguru" in 1928. She also published a number of essays on women writers and on women and socialism, as well as numerous works of literary criticism in the two years after living with Hayashi. During this time her writings appeared in numerous literary journals, including *Bungei Sensen*, *Wakakusa*, *Shinseinen*, *Kaihō*, *Shinchō*, *Sōsaku Jidai*, *Nyonin Geijutsu, Fujin Kōron, Kaizō,* and *Rōnō Fujin-ban*, and such newspapers as the *Miyako Shinbun*. See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 9-22 and 43-49. For biographical information about Hirabayashi's life in the second half of the 1920s, see Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 9-13.

[13] It was at this point that she began to publish under the name "Fumiko" with the characters 芙美子 as opposed to フミコ, as her name was recorded in her mother's family register. See Joan E. Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 48, and 55n27; and Imagawa Hideko, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 288.

[14] See Hayashi, *Aouma o mitari* in *HFZ*: 1, 1-98.

[15] The poem published in the August issue of *Bungei Sensen* was "Jokō no utaeru" (「女工の唄へる」, translated by Janice Brown as "Song of a Female Factory Worker"). I also follow Brown's translation of *Futari* as *We Two*. See Imagawa Hideko, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 288-289; and Hayashi Fumiko, Janice Brown, trans., *I Saw a Pale Horse* (Aouma wo mitari) *and Selected Poems from Diary of a Vagabond* (Hōrōki) (Cornell East Asia Series No. 86, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program), 15, 17.

[16] I follow Janice Brown's translations of these two poems' titles. See her translations in Brown, 43, 74-65.

Hayashi biographer Imagawa Hideko (今川英子) has suggested that Hayashi drew inspiration to write from witnessing Hirabayashi's writerly ambition during their early friendship. For example, Imagawa considers Hayashi's motivation to draft her early short story "The Accordion and the Fish Town" ("Fūkin to uo no machi") in 1926 as rooted in Hirabayashi's submission of "Selling Mourning Bands" to the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* Short Story Prize contest earlier that year.[17] Mid-1928 marked the beginning of Hayashi's publication of her poetry and diaristic prose studded with poems in Hasegawa Shigure's (長谷川時雨) new journal of works by women, *Women's Arts*. Positive reception of these works, which would later comprise her breakout *Diary of a Vagabond*, set the stage for Hayashi's recognition by the Kaizōsha publishing company and the literary establishment. In the months leading up to this major professional achievement from the time she lived with Hirabayashi, Hayashi wrote and published an increasing number of poems and short stories.[18] In early 1927 Hayashi also married the artist Tezuka Ryokubin (手塚緑敏), not long after Hirabayashi married the writer to whom she had been introduced at *Literary Front*, Kobori Jinji (小堀甚二). By late 1928, thanks to the support of Hasegawa Shigure and her husband, the writer Mikami Otokichi (三上於菟吉), Hayashi had begun to start reaching larger audiences with her poetry and prose. She adopted a prolific pace of writing and publishing in 1929 which she would maintain for the majority of her writing career.[19]

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[17] Imagawa Hideko, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 290.
[18] In December 1927, Hayashi published "A Romantic's Words" ("Romanchisuto no kotoba") in *Bungei Kōron* (*Literary Forum*), and in the first half of 1928, her poems "A Town Where the Sea Cannot Be Seen" ("Umi no mienai machi"), "Dear Katyusha" ("Itoshi no Kachusha"), "Red Sails Gone to Sea" ("Shuhan wa umi o deta"), and "The Washboard" ("Sentakuita") ran in *Bungei Sensen*, while "The Crab's Lodgings" ("Kani no yado") appeared in the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*. Ibid., 290-291.
[19] Ibid., 290-292.

Hirabayashi and Hayashi's young friendship served as a source of material as well as emotional support at a time when they each had few other resources. As working-class women far from their families and tasked with supporting themselves while launching their writing careers, they both worked a variety of menial jobs – sometimes together – as café waitresses, maids, shopgirls, and factory laborers. The money they earned comprised a necessary supplement to the unstable payments and advances they could garner from their literary manuscripts. When even those combined sources of income fell short of their needs, especially when they felt pressure to provide for their lovers, both Hirabayashi and Hayashi relied on the generosity of friends, co-workers, and wealthier fellow writers. Hirabayashi, in particular, even extorted banks and other business organizations for money as part of a band of anarchists.[20] But, less controversially, they also simply pawned their belongings for cash.[21] At the time she moved in with Hayashi,

[20] In the 1920s in Japan, extortion (*ryaku* 略 or リャク) was not an uncommon practice among anti-establishment activists and intellectuals influenced by anarchism. Arguing that they deserved to steal (from the bourgeoisie) that which had been stolen from them (the proletariat) -- informed by the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's definition of property as theft in his 1840 work, *What is Property?* (*Qu'est-ce que la propriété*?) -- bands of anarchists and sympathizers would threaten workers at banks and large businesses with violence, or more often, political retaliation and media controversy, if they did not give them lump sums of cash when they demanded it. Hirabayashi made enough money to survive and support her lover, Yamamoto Torazō (山本虎三), by following along with him and others such as Hirose Kuratarō (広瀬 庫太郎), Pak Yeol (朴烈), and Kaneko Fumiko (金子文子) as they extorted banks and companies. Hirabayashi's autobiographical protagonist in "Azakeru" takes advantage of this established practice as one way to get cash quickly. Hayashi was not known to have participated in this practice, although she did associate with, and borrow money from, anarchists whose income included money acquired through extortion. See Nakayama Kazuko, *Josei sakka hyōden shiriizu 8: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Shintensha, 1999), 49; Hirabayashi, "My Résumé" ("Watashi no rirekisho") in HTZ: 12, 55; and "Azakeru" in *HTZ*: 1, 54-55.

[21] Hirabayashi and Hayashi relied on pawnshops as did many fellow writers, artists, and workers in precarious financial situations before the Pacific War. See, for example, Hirabayashi's memoir where she discusses a pawnshop Hayashi had introduced her to, and which they both regularly used before they started making money from their writings: Hirabayashi, ("Before I Arrived") "Yo ni deru made" in *HTZ*: 12, 110. Originally published in *Shōsetsu Shinchō*, Vol. 9 No. 12 (September 1, 1955 [Shōwa 30]), 200-203. While pawnshops factored heavily in the day-to-day fortunes of working-class people, they also appeared as a common setting or plot element in literature of the time. For example, Uno Kōji's (宇野浩二) early story "Kura no naka" ("Inside the Storehouse," 1919) told of a man preoccupied with acquiring new clothing through the pawning of older clothing, with the strange habit of visiting his previously pawned kimonos at the storehouse pawnshop. See Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era: Fiction* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 523-524.

Hirabayashi, in particular, relied on pawnshops. Despite the meager amounts she could borrow against her belongings (which comprised little more than the items in her wardrobe), Hirabayashi often traded them in to get cash to support herself or one of her lovers when he had no work.

A vignette from Hirabayashi's autobiographical novel *Desert Bloom* (*Sabaku no hana*, 1957)[22] suggests that her reliance on pawning her clothing likely led to the situation in which she and Hayashi shared their one item of outerwear when they lived together.[23] Hirabayashi's narrator recalled how her tendency to pawn her clothing in the mid-1920s affected her lifestyle as follows:

> …By [gradually] pawning all of my clothing, I had wound up only with the clothes I was wearing. [So,] when I thought of going out on a given day, I would wake up in the morning, wash the kimono I had been wearing, dry it at the charcoal brazier, and wait in my underclothes for it to fully dry. When I didn't do that, I went to borrow a kimono from Tsuboi's wife,

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[22] See Hirabayashi Taiko, *Sabaku no hana* in *HTZ*: 7, 80-444; and *Sabaku no hana: Daiichibu* (Kōbunsha, June 1957); and *Sabaku no hana: Dainibu* (Kōbunsha, July 1957). Originally serialized in *Housewives' Friend* (*Shufu no tomo*) Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan. 1, 1955) through Vol. 41 No. 7 (July 1, 1957).

[23] For other descriptions of Hirabayashi's reliance upon pawn shops and her experience of owning but a single kimono while starting out as a writer, see Hirabayashi's essays "Himawari: Wa ga donzoko hanseiki" in *HTZ*: 12, 16; "Watashi no kukyō jidai" in *HTZ*: 12, 105; and "Yo ni deru made" in *HTZ*: 12, 110. In contrast to Hirabayashi's depiction of her autobiographical narrator-protagonist pawning her clothing, Hayashi's own autobiographical work's narrator-protagonist described her "daily" or "frequent visits" (*nissan*) to a used book store, implying she would regularly sell her books when in need of cash. See, for example, the episode where the narrator remarks, "It was my usual daily visit to the used book store."「例の通り古本屋への日参だ。」in Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (*Dai-ichibu*) in *HFZ*: 1, 298. Iwaya Daishi (巌谷大四), in his narrative history of the so-called "women's literary establishment" (*joryū bundan,* 女流文壇) describes a moment that resonates with the trope of Hirabayashi and Hayashi needing and choosing to share a kimono, although set shortly after the two lived together. To wit, when the editor Suzuki Ichii (鈴木一意) from the Kaizōsha publishing company came to visit Hayashi at her home in the summer of 1929 to request a manuscript from her, having read her works in *Nyonin Geijutsu*, Hayashi purportedly was wearing a red bathing suit. She supposedly had no other appropriate attire, having pawned all of her kimono in the extreme poverty of her early marriage to Tezuka. Iwaya describes how she rushed to grab a towel that was left lying out to use to cover her knees as she bowed to the editor and welcomed him in. While this narrative smacks of a gratuitousness intended to paint Hayashi in an unflattering light, it nonetheless serves as an additional example of the pervasiveness of descriptions of Hayashi (and Hirabayashi) as young writers in terms of their material, sartorial circumstances. It also recurs in other anecdotal histories of the literary establishment such as Takami Jun's dialogue with Hirabayashi mentioned in Note 2 (on page 23) above. See Iwaya Daishi, *Monogatari joryū bundan shi* (Bungei Shunjū Bunshun Bunko, 1989), 273; and Takami, "Shōwa no joryū sakka," in *Taidan Gendai bundan shi*, 262.

> Sakae. I came to borrow it so often that it would have been embarrassing for Sakae to wear it herself anymore.[24]

This character, modeled after Hirabayashi, notably borrows a kimono from "Tsuboi Sakae," a woman who did, in fact, live near both Hirabayashi and Hayashi in 1925 in Taishidō, and who later became a writer. Tsuboi's husband, the poet and critic Tsuboi Shigeji, belonged to the group of anarchists who had introduced Hirabayashi and Hayashi to one another the year before. Even in Hirabayashi's own literary self-representation, she characterizes herself as someone who relies upon the support of fellow women from similar class backgrounds and with similar aspirations.

Particularly during her unstable years striving to break into the literary establishment, kimono ownership served as a standard by which Hirabayashi measured her success. In her essay "My Maiden Work" ("Shojosaku," 1968) she described how, in her exaltation at receiving word that her story "A Life Selling Mourning Bands" had placed in the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* literary competition in 1927, awarding her the generous prize of two hundred yen, she impulsively purchased a kimono and a parasol.[25] Although in her exhilarated state she carelessly left the parasol in the taxi in which she rode home from the store, the kimono stands out as significant in her narrative as her first material reward to herself for having achieved literary success and recognition after

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[24] Hirabayashi Taiko, *Sabaku no hana*, in *Nihon Bungaku Zenshū 38: Hirabayashi Taiko shū* (Shinchōsha, 1962), 366; and Hirabayashi, *Sabaku no hana* in *HTZ*: 7, 238.「しかし、着るものはすべて質にはいって、今着ている一着きりしかのこっていないことが始終だった。今日外出しようと思うときは、朝起きて着ていた着物を洗って、七輪の火で乾かして、襦袢のまま着物の乾くのを待つのだった。そうでないときには、壷井夫人栄さんの着物をかりて行く。もう栄さん自身がきるのは恥ずかしいほど、私がしょっちゅう借りることになってしまった。」Here I should also confirm that by stating that they shared a kimono, I am describing a situation wherein the two of them had but one suitable garment of outerwear.

[25] She claimed that the prize money was worth the equivalent of 2,000 yen (in 1968) to her then. See Hirabayashi, "Shojosaku," in *HTZ*: 12, 102-103; originally published with the title "Shojosaku (Hajimete kaita sakuhin)" in *Gunzō* Vol. 23, No.6, on June 1, 1968. See also Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," in *HTZ*: 12, 340-341; and Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 151.

spending several long years in abject poverty.[26] By sharing even such an everyday necessity as a kimono with Hayashi and Tsuboi in times of need, Hirabayashi showed her faith in the support of the women who comprised her small community of neighbors, friends, and comrades.

Hayashi recalled her relationship with Hirabayashi and their limited material means, in a matter of fact way. In an essay about her life and her relationships during the early Shōwa period, she remarked rather reservedly that, "Taiko-san was, at that time, writing detective stories, and I was writing children's stories, and we would both go out to try to sell them. I believe we slept on our cushions and kimono spread out over the dirt hearth. We had no bedding."[27] Hayashi claimed not to remember the specifics of that time as well as Hirabayashi – a defensive narrative mode Hayashi commonly adopted in essays and memoirs written later in her career – but this particular essay provides a record of their having accompanied one another on such everyday activities as going "to the public bath … and tak[ing] walks."[28] Hayashi also downplayed the depth of their discussions at that time, claiming, "we didn't really have literary conversations, but we

[26] In her biography of Hirabayashi, Abe Namiko recounts an anecdote told to her by Hirabayashi's sister-in-law Hirabayashi Yoneko (平林よね子, the wife of Taiko's older brother). Hirabayashi had a large number of kimono which she kept carefully stored in a paulownia wood wardrobe, as she had an affinity throughout her life for wearing kimono -- even in her later years and while traveling, despite the growing availability and popularity of Western-style clothing. See Abe Namiko, *Hirabayashi Taiko: Hana ni mi o* (Musashinō Shobō, 1986), 269.

[27] Hayashi Fumiko, "The Beginning of the Shōwa [Period]" ("Shōwa shotō no koro") in *HFZ*: 16, 92. (Original publication date unknown.) Hayashi had first commemorated her relationship with Hirabayashi in a poem "Tai o kau" included in her poetry collection *Aouma o mitari* [*I Saw a Pale Horse*] (Nansō Shoin, June 1929). See Hayashi, "Tai o kau" in *HFZ*: 1, 25-28. Hayashi also included this poem in the body of the essay "Shōwa shōto no koro." Kurashina Taira depicts a scene from when Hirabayashi and Hayashi lived together, and claims they initially used bedding Hirabayashi had borrowed from her former lover Yamamoto Torazō, but Yamamoto soon took the bedding back from them in a confrontation with Hirabayashi and her other former lover Iida Tokutarō, when Hirabayashi, pressed to choose which of the two men she (still) loved, chose Iida. See Kurashina, 275-276.

[28] Hayashi, "Shōwa shotō no koro," in *HFZ*: 16, 92. For further discussion of Hayashi's selective memory regarding the details of her publishing history, particularly concerning *Diary of a Vagabond*, see Ericson, 48-53, 57-63, and 101-103.

lived happily together, without any quarrels."[29] This disavowal of an intellectual bent to their friendship aligns with Hayashi's retrospective self-fashioning of her literary persona to incorporate her earliest years as a writer. Where she sought to characterize herself as one of the people, uninterested in ideological thinking and free from political affiliations as a writer, she claimed to recall but few details regarding her friendship with Hirabayashi, who was known for her associations with anarchism and socialism and her critique of Japanese imperialism.[30]

Indeed, in the years since they lived together Hirabayashi recalled a relatively larger number of details of her and Hayashi's intertwined lives and literary pursuits in the early Shōwa period. Hirabayashi recalled Hayashi's skill at sewing and cooking at that time, and in several other autobiographical essays from later in her career, Hirabayashi recounted how she and Hayashi had gone out walking door-to-door to publishers' offices to try to sell their writings before they became known as writers; they would go out together on such trips, or sometimes run into one another during them.[31] When they

[29] Hayashi, "Shōwa shotō no koro," 92.

[30] For examples of Hayashi's anti-intellectual posturing in the form of disavowals of party or political affiliations, particularly in response to critical assessments of *Diary of a Vagabond* in the context of proletarian literature, see Hayashi's May 1931 essay "My Horizon" ("Watashi no chiheisen") in *HFZ*: 16, 111-115; her 1939 preface to a definitive edition of *Diary of a Vagabond*, "*Ketteiban Hōrōki* hashigaki" (*HFZ*: 16, 217-220); and her afterword to a 1946 edition of *Diary of a Vagabond* ("*Hōrōki* atogaki," in *HFZ*: 16, 242-244). In Hayashi's afterword to a 1949 reprint edition of *Diary of a Vagabond*, ("*Hōrōki II: Hayashi Fumiko Bunko* Atogaki," in *HFZ*: 16, 268-270), she claimed she walked her own path [as a writer], and was incapable of being left wing or right wing. She further purported to have no need for party affiliations, as anarchy was the foundation of her spirit (「今でも私の精神の根底はアナーキイだ。」). Susanna Fessler has translated "My Horizon" into English in her *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko* (State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1998), 159-162. For Fessler's reading of Hayashi's selective adoption of nihilism as a young writer, see Fessler, 53-63. Ericson has also discussed Hayashi's "scant interest in political ideology." See Ericson, 66-69.

[31] See, for example, Hirabayashi Taiko, "Jinsei mujō" in *Fujin Kōron* Vol. 37 No. 8 (August 1, 1951), 147-150; "Yo ni deru made" in *HTZ*: 12, 107 (Originally published in *Shōsetsu Shinchō* Vol. 9 No. 12 [September 1, 1955], 200-203); and Hirabayashi Taiko, "Watashi no rirekisho" in *HTZ*: 12, 53 (Originally published in 26 serial installments in *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* from October 22, 1966 to November 16, 1966). This practice of selling manuscripts door-to-door was what a fellow poet (and spurned lover of Hirabayashi's) disparaged as "selling mourning bands," a phrase which Hirabayashi would adapt as the title of her first submission to a literary competition. See Hirabayashi, "Shojosaku," in *HTZ*: 12, 102-103.

encountered other women writers selling trying to sell their writings, Hirabayashi and Hayashi's comparatively shabby dress put them at a disadvantage, Hirabayashi claimed.[32] (Their strategy to directly approach editors may have aimed at avoiding the prohibitive cost and amount of time demanded when submitting manuscripts by post. Other women writers with whom they might have been competing for publication opportunities at the time likely either had connections to editors through their male teachers or relatives, or had the financial security to submit manuscripts by post and await uncertain replies from publishing houses.) Hirabayashi also recalled how she and Hayashi kept the names of the editors they knew a secret from other writers whom they encountered (more often men than women writers) while they each looked for places to publish their poems and stories.[33]

In recollections of her early literary associations with Hayashi in mid-1920s Tokyo, Hirabayashi has attributed the closeness of their relationship to their shared outlooks on life, love, and freedom stemming from their shared class backgrounds.[34] Of course, they also had in common their both having moved to Tokyo from more rural

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Kurashina Taira claims that Hayashi taught Hirabayashi how to write and sell children's stories to publishers. See Kurashina, 255.

[32] Hirabayashi, "Yo ni deru made" in *HTZ*: 12, 108.

[33] Ibid., 107. Abe Namiko claims that among the ways in which Hayashi helped lead Hirabayashi, she introduced Hirabayashi to Yasunari Jirō (安成二郎) of the Yomiuri Shinbunsha literary section. See Abe, *Hirabayashi Taiko: Hana ni mi o*, 105-106.

[34] See, for example, Hirabayashi's memoir "Himawari: Wa ga donzoko hanseiki" in *HTZ*: 12, 14, where she writes of her connection to Hayashi: "We talked with one another about how difficult it was for a woman to go on living without selling her freedom to a man. In fact, if neither of us had any property, we didn't have good looks either. Yet, the path we had taken until then was a path that women forever longing for some kind of freedom have trouble avoiding. We had a defiance that couldn't be suppressed by the restraints of moral value judgments or conventions. Whether for myself or Fumiko-san, if, born as laborers, we had ourselves become laborers, we would certainly have been glad our defiant spirits hadn't been realized this way."「私たちは女が男に自由を売ることなく生きて行くことがどんなに辛いことであるかということを話し合った。実際二人とも今まで歩いて来た道は、財産もなければ美貌もない、しかも、何か自由なものを憧れてやまない女の避けがたい道だった。道徳上の価値批判や習慣の束縛ではどうしても押え切れない反抗があった。私にしろ芙美子さんにしろ、もしうまれが労働者で、私たち自身も労働者であったら私たちの反抗心はこんな風に発揮されなくともよかったにちがいなかった。」

areas of Japan, their shared ambition to become writers, and their desire to support themselves independently of men, not to mention their support of one another as against those men who would mistreat them or exploit them in relationships. In contrast to women writers, largely from the middle or upper classes, who had begun to find acclaim in the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods, Hayashi and Hirabayashi stood out as newly educated women from working-class backgrounds who aspired to become writers. By supporting themselves financially and living independently in Tokyo apart from their families in pursuit of careers as writers, they further defied the typical path of the (bourgeois) woman writer in modern Japan.

With the immense success of *Diary of a Vagabond* in 1930, wherein Hayashi recorded perhaps her most well known (albeit fictionalized) account of her friendship with "Taiko," Hayashi left Japan on an extended trip to Europe via China. From that point on, she and Hirabayashi grew apart, but the bond they formed in their early careers would link them throughout their lives. In subsequent years, especially near the end of the Pacific War and in the early postwar period when both Hayashi and Hirabayashi garnered attention for their renewed prolificacy, they both fondly recalled their early friendship when discussing the origins of their writing careers.[35] Hirabayashi in particular seems to

[35] As mentioned above, Hirabayashi experienced an initial period of prolific productivity from 1926 to 1938. After she contracted pleurisy and peritonitis in prison in 1938, she suffered to overcome a series of illnesses which kept her bedridden and largely unable to write or publish from 1938 until early 1946. Japan's involvement in the Pacific War during these years brought about a range of societal changes which increasingly disrupted the work of writers and publishers, such as heightened censorship and the suspension of publication of many periodicals. This is not to mention the society-wide destabilizing effects of wartime rationing, militarism, and the threat of firebombing, which Hirabayashi and Hayashi would have also experienced. In 1946, with the end of the war, Hirabayashi recovered her health and returned to writing with a renewed intensity. This year marked the beginning of her second period of prolific literary production, which she would maintain for the next twenty-five years until her death in early 1972 at age 66. See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 19-38. Hayashi, in contrast, wrote and published prolifically from 1928 to 1943, and experienced only a brief two-year period of reduced productivity in 1944 and 1945, when she evacuated Tokyo with her newly adopted son, Tai (泰), during the last months of the war. Like Hirabayashi, in 1946 she returned to a prolific pace of writing, which she maintained until her

have considered herself powerfully influenced as a person and as a writer by her friendship with Hayashi. As early as 1929, in a review of Hayashi's *I Saw a Pale Horse* soon after its publication, Hirabayashi marveled at how Hayashi inspired her, exclaiming, "It is impossible to know just how much she has taught me."[36] Their life together in Tokyo in the mid-1920s forms a motif that would recur across Hirabayashi's criticism, essays, and literature throughout her career. Hirabayashi also spoke at Hayashi's funeral in 1951, and published several additional pieces memorializing Hayashi in the months following her sudden death.[37] In October 1951, Hirabayashi became a member of the editorial committee for the first edition of Hayashi's collected works published by Shinchōsha.[38] Then in 1969, almost 20 years after Hayashi's death, Hirabayashi published a full-length "critical biography" (*hyōden*) entitled *Hayashi Fumiko* in the

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death in 1951. See Imagawa, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 285-310. Despite these periods of relative inactivity each writer experienced during the Pacific War, both Hirabayashi and Hayashi stand out as having published the largest number of works of fiction (nine works each) among those (thirty) women writers who published "serious" literary works during the Allied Occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1952. See Sharalyn Orbaugh, *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007) 350.

[36] 「私は彼女にどんなに教えられたか知れない。」 See Hirabayashi Taiko, "Sehyō to kanojo: Hayashi Fumiko no tame ni" in *HTZ*: 10, 331. (Originally published in *Nyonin Geijutsu* 2/3 [September 1929], 66-67.)

[37] See, for example, Hirabayashi's essays "Aa Hayashi Fumiko" in the *Yūkan Asahi Shinbun* (June 29, 1951), 2; "Fumiko-san" in *Ningen* Vol. 6 No. 8 (August 1951), 50-51; "Hayashi Fumiko-san o itamu" (title changed to "Jinsei mujō") in *Fujin Kōron* Vol. 37 No. 8 (August 1, 1951), 147-150; "Hayashi-san (Tsuitō Hayashi Fumiko)" in *Bungakkai* Vol. 5 No. 8 (August 1, 1951), 91; "Wa ga tomo Hayashi Fumiko" in *Shufu no Tomo* Vol. 35 No. 9 (September 1, 1951), 72-74; "Hayashi Fumiko-san no omoide" in *Fujin Kurabu* Vol. 32 No. 9 (September 1951), 114-117; and "Hayashi Fumiko no rei ni" in *Fujin Gahō* No. 564 (September 1, 1951), cover page 2. In later years, Hirabayashi continued to publish such biographical writings and memoirs about Hayashi as "Kimono ryokō" in the Sunday edition of the *Asahi Shinbun* (October 4, 1959), 17; "Hayashi Fumiko-den no muzukashisa, Pt.1 & Pt. 2" in the evening edition of the *Tōkyō Shinbun* (December 1, 1961 – December 2, 1961), 8; and "Hayashi Fumiko no ikikata 1-4" in the evening edition of the *Sankei Shinbun* (January 11, 1965 – January 14, 1965), 4. See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 82-84, 118, 127, and 140. In "Kimono ryokō," for example, Hirabayashi reminisced about her relationship with Hayashi in the context of a discussion of kimono. Hirabayashi had received a gift of a very fine kimono from Hayashi, an occasion which led her to recall how Hayashi had suggested they take a trip together to France when the two reconnected only a few days before Hayashi's death.

[38] Hayashi Fumiko, *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū*, 23 vols. (Shinchōsha, 1951-1953). See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 25.

literary journal *Shinchō*, in the preparation of which she had conducted research in Tokyo and across Japan in the distant towns where Hayashi had once lived.[39]

The time that Hirabayashi and Hayashi lived together and shared a kimono was altogether not longer than a year, but forms a recurrent trope in literary histories to link the two writers, whether on account of their both having experienced a series of tumultuous relationships with men, or their similar socioeconomic class backgrounds as poor women from outside Tokyo trying to establish writing careers without family support.[40] I take a cue from the enduring force of this characterization of Hirabayashi and Hayashi in the early Shōwa period as linked by the image of a single shared kimono to consider how the time they lived together (and by association, their early friendship) can be seen to illuminate not just the similar aspects of their personal lives, but their contributions to one another's early successes as writers and (what would become) their characteristic innovations as writers in their subsequent careers.

Hirabayashi and Hayashi in the Context of "Women's Literature" (*Joryū bungaku*)

Here, I briefly situate my analysis of the friendship of Hirabayashi and Hayashi within literary historical context, before moving on to look at their literature. Hayashi and

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[39] See Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hayashi Fumiko* in *HTZ*: 10, 9-88. (Originally published in *Shinchō* 66:4, April 1, 1969, p.6-83. The biography was published as a discrete volume by Shinchōsha in July 1969, with the addition of an afterword.)

[40] See, for example, Abe, *Hirabayashi Taiko: Hana ni mi o*, 109; Fessler, *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko*, 12-15; Imagawa, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 290; Kurashina, (*Shōsetsu*) *Hirabayashi Taiko* (*Shinshū bundan shiriizu 1*), 257-258; Orbaugh, *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity*, 369; and Tanaka, ed., *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913-1938* (Seattle: The Seal Press, 1987), 70. Two biographies of Hirabayashi which refer to her having lived with Hayashi, yet do not explicitly address their kimono sharing are Mure Yōko, *Yōsei to yōkai no aida: Hirabayashi Taiko den* (Bunshun Bunko, Bungei Shunjū, 2008), 108; and Nakayama Kazuko, *Josei sakka hyōden shiriizu 8: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Shintensha, 1999), 71 (which draws heavily from Nakayama's scholarship and Abe Namiko's chronology of Hirabayashi's life found in volume 12 of her collected works). Takayama Kyōko recalls Hirabayashi and Hayashi's intertwined lives in early Shōwa without referencing their shared kimono in her literary biography of Hayashi. See Takayama, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono jidai*.

Hirabayashi began their literary activities at the start of the Shōwa period (1926-1989). They are known for being among those few women writing at that time whose work would come to shape the trajectory of a new kind of women's writing in modern Japan. Like much of the literature written by men at this time, this modern women's writing was frequently autobiographical, and written in the "I-novel," or *shishōsetsu* (私小説), style known for its supposed transparency of content and its incorporation of a confessional narrative mode. Yet despite this formal parallel with writing by men, the works of modern Japanese women writers were segregated by the Japanese literary establishment into a category known as "women's literature," or *joryū bungaku* (女流文学). This phrase "women's literature" generally assumed that writing by women, in contrast to writing by men, would possess an inherently female or feminine style or content. It was posited in contrast to regular "literature," *bungaku* (文学), which was implicitly the work of male writers.

Accordingly, Hirabayashi and Hayashi, labeled "female (or feminine-style) writers" (*joryū sakka* 女流作家), received criticism from the male-led literary establishment (*bundan* 文壇) on the basis of their perceived successes not just as individual writers, but as *women*.[41] Hirabayashi and Hayashi met one other while each in

[41] The literary establishment, or "*bundan,*" a network of small groups of writers and intellectuals whose activities came to comprise what Howard Hibbett and Donald Keene have called "the literary world" of Japan, figured as the seat of authority over modern literary production, publishing, and criticism. Beginning in the Meiji period, male writers contributing to, editing, and publishing coterie literary journals for their small communities of fellow writers formed what would become the structure of this unofficial, yet powerful, literary establishment. New writers interested in breaking into literary careers needed either to start a journal of their own, or network their way into one of the existing coterie journals by way of a recommendation or endorsement from an established writer to procure a publishing venue and a readership. This insular and self-referential writers' society long held sway over the fortunes of writers in modern Japan. See Howard Hibbett, ed., *Contemporary Japanese Literature: An Anthology of Fiction, Film, and Other Writing Since 1945* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), xiii; and Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era: Fiction*, 283, 509-510, 965.

the midst of a series of volatile romances, a fact that has meant that some male critics foregrounded their judgments of such personal details of the writers' lives as the ins and outs of their romantic liaisons over the actual content and style of their writing from that time. This double standard of critique with regard to writings by women constitutes another way in which the recognition of women's writing took place apart from, as opposed to on a par with, men's writing in modern Japan.[42]

In making strides toward their literary careers in the midst of this critical environment, modern women writers like Hirabayashi and Hayashi often found strength in working to form a critical mass with fellow women writers in and on the outskirts of the literary establishment. (Modern women writers as a group demarcated from men writers on the sole basis of their sex came to be known as the "women's literary establishment" [*joryū bundan* 女流文壇], a categorical grouping of *joryū sakka* as a kind of auxiliary organization to the male-led *bundan*.) In this sense, Hirabayashi and Hayashi followed in the footsteps of Japan's first group of modern literary feminists, known by the name of their pioneering journal, *Bluestockings* (*Seitō*, 1911-1916), who together wrote, edited, and published essays and creative writing by women (and translations of

[42] Behind this segregated view of writing by women from writing by men in modern Japan we can point to the centuries-long history, from roughly the end of the Heian period in 1185 to the end of the Edo period in 1868, during which women played a much-diminished role in the production of literature in Japan. Throughout this long period, economic and social constraints associated with the importation of Confucian principles of government and family rule; feudalism; and highly limited access to education kept women in social positions largely incompatible with the material means of pursuing writing careers. The extended absence of a critical mass of women from the literary realm presented a stark contrast following the remarkable flourishing of women writers seen amid the imperial Japanese court culture of the Heian period, from 795 to 1185 -- when Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部) wrote the unprecedented *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 『源氏物語』). See Iwabuchi Hiroko, Kitada Sachie, and Hasegawa Kei, eds., *Kokubungaku Kaishaku to Kanshō Bessatsu*: *Hennentai Kindai gendai josei bungakushi* (Shibundō, December 15, 2005), 6-7; and Shin Feminizumu hihyō no kai, Eds., *Meiji josei bungakuron* (Kanrin Shobō, 2007), 1; and Ericson, 18-22. For details of the social and political changes affecting women and women's literary expression in the centuries between the Heian and modern waves of women's writing, as well as profiles of those iconoclastic women writers active between the two historical moments, see Gotō Shōko, Imazeki Toshiko, Miyakawa Yōko, and Tairadate Eiko, eds., *Shiriizu Nihon no bungakushi 5: Hajimete manabu Nihon josei bungakushi; Kotenhen* (Mineruva Shobō, 2003).

writings by Western men) about women's rights and women's personal pursuits of freedom.[43] For example, as mentioned earlier, Hirabayashi formed the Social Literature Alliance with Hayashi and several other women writers and artists at a peak of creative momentum during the period she lived with Hayashi in late 1926. While short-lived, the group served as an alternate productive space, separate even from her friendship with Hayashi, within which Hirabayashi could discuss with other writers her own work, literary works by others, and the role of women writers in society. It also served as a venue in which these writers at different points in establishing their careers could socialize and engage in informal mentoring relationships.

Hirabayashi in particular has described in several essays how she enjoyed talking about literature with other writers, especially women writers, in her early career.[44] One such anecdote addressed her first meeting with Hayashi, to whom she had recently been introduced by the anarchist writers and artists with whom they both associated in the mid-1920s. "Fumiko was working in a café in Shibuya. When I heard she would come that evening, I waited at the boarding house so I could talk with her, the woman who always wrote great poems. That [was] the first time … we talked keenly about literature

[43] For detailed information about the history of *Seitō*, see "Introduction" in Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from* Seitō, *1911-16* (Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2007), 1-21; and Watanabe Sumiko's (渡邊澄子) essay "'Seitō' undōshi" in Shin-Feminizumu hihyō no kai, eds., *'Seitō' o yomu* (Gakugei Shorin, 1998), 514-534.

[44] See, for example, Hirabayashi's essays "Shojosaku no koro: *Bungei Sensen* to *Kaihō* ni happyō" in *HTZ*: 10, 381; and "Watashi no rirekisho" in *HTZ*: 12, 53 and 57. In an open roundtable discussion sponsored by the Women Writers' Association (Joryū Bungakusha Kai), Hirabayashi discussed with fellow writers Setouchi Harumi and Kōno Taeko her tendency later in life to socialize mostly with friends from her childhood and young adulthood, rather than with other newer friends or with contemporary women writers. Hirabayashi admitted a fondness for the friends she had known the longest, and claimed that later in life her busy schedule of writing and caring for her pets kept her from much socializing. Still, Hirabayashi claimed that her early female friendships remained important to her, and even more memorable than her relationships with men from the same period. See Setouchi Harumi and Kōno Taeko, "Hirabayashi Taiko-san ni kiku: Shōsetsu dake o kakō to shitan janai," in *Joryū sakka wa kataru: Enchi Fumiko, Sata Ineko, Hirabayashi Taiko, Amino Kiku* (Shūeisha, 1978) 79-88.

[together].”[45] (Note that Hirabayashi recounts the literary focus of her conversation with Hayashi here, unlike Hayashi’s memory that they did not discuss literature.)

To what extent can we measure the resonance of Hirabayashi and Hayashi’s early friendship and life together as roommates with regard to their literary careers? How might their relationship have enabled the successes they enjoyed later in life as writers? As a preliminary response to these related questions, I suggest we look at how Hayashi and Hirabayashi depict female friendships and relationships between women in their literature. Both writers’ literature prominently features the exploration of a variety of connections between female characters. On the whole, I believe that both writers use these literary spaces to convey their dissatisfaction with a range of forms of discrimination against women, and to suggest how women may provide mutual support in the face of such discrimination.[46] More specifically, I see different relational alliances undergirding the connections between female characters in Hayashi’s as compared to Hirabayashi’s literature, which then shape the feel of each writer’s own separate characterization of the significance of female friendship.

Female Friendship as Solace for Frustrated Desires in the Literature of Hayashi Fumiko

In an early autobiographical poem, Hayashi commemorated an outing she took with Hirabayashi around the time they lived together at the start of the Shōwa period.

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[45] 「芙美子は渋谷のカフェで働いていた。私は彼女が今晩くるというので、いつもよい詩をかくその女性と話すため、下宿で待っていた。この時はじめてしみじみと文学の話をした。」 Hirabayashi Taiko, “My Youth, A History of Ideas and Men” (“Shisō to dansei o henreki shita seishun”) in *HTZ*: 12, 42.

[46] In her study of Hayashi Fumiko, Takayama Kyōko (高山京子) reads Hayashi and Hirabayashi together and finds that while in their early works they both depict unconventional female characters and characters who respond to oppression with spirited defiance, the two possess writing styles that contrast greatly. She characterizes Hirabayashi’s writing in terms of its one-dimensionality (「一元的」) (of perspective, description, and structure), as opposed to Hayashi’s multi-dimensional style in which she presents a variety of perspectives. See “Hayashi Fumiko to Hirabayashi Taiko” in Takayama Kyōko, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono jidai* (Ronsōsha, 2010), 353-370.

"Buying Sea Bream," ("Tai o kau") depicts a scene drawn from the two writers' real-life friendship, and tellingly, it revolves around their shared experience of poverty in Tokyo. Hayashi included the poem, which she dedicated to Hirabayashi, in her first book of poetry, *I Saw a Pale Horse*, published in 1929.[47] It features an unnamed narrator and her friend, ostensibly the "Tai-san" of the poem's dedication (modeled, respectively, after Hayashi and Hirabayashi), as "women with the same fate" who share a "wistful smile"[48] together at how little money they had compared to those around them while on a walk through the lively Nihonbashi shopping area. (Unable to spare money for streetcar or train fares, the two often walked across Tokyo together.) Hayashi describes the "we two" (*futari*) or "us" who comprise the subjects of the poem in terms of their shared defiant laughter in response to the humiliation of poverty, their shared desires to send gifts home to their families far from Tokyo, and their shared delight at how in unison their irreverent voices sound twice as loud.[49]

"Some kind of excitement might be medicine to us,"[50] the narrator boldly claims of the two women who walk through the city in search of some new inspiration to distract them from their hardships. They walk together as the narrator laments her distance from her hometown and her parents, and decides to spend what little money she has to send her

[47] See Hayashi, "Tai o kau" in *HFZ*: 1, 25-28. Hayashi demonstrated the familiarity of her bond with Hirabayashi by dedicating the poem to her using her given name, "Tai." The dedication reads "Tai-san ni okuru" ("For Tai").
[48] Ibid., 25. 「同じような運命を持った女」; 「同じように瞳と瞳をみあわせて淋しく笑ったのです。」
[49] Recall that the coterie poetry journal Hayashi published with her friend Tomotani Shizue in 1924 also bore the title *Futari* (『二人』), suggesting Hayashi's predilection for writing in the first person plural voice to represent herself as connected to her female friends (or, more generally, to represent women together). (As an aside, Iwaya Daishi cites their joint publication of *Futari* to claim that of the female friends Hayashi made through the introduction of the anarchists and artists associated with the Nantendō bookstore in the mid-1920s, she had a stronger bond with Tomotani than with Hirabayashi. See Iwaya Daishi, *Monogatari joryū bundan shi*, 271-272.)
[50] Hayashi, "Tai o kau" in *HFZ*: 1, 25. 「一種のコウフンは私達には薬かもしれない。」

mother and father a year-end gift – "sea bream"[51] (*tai*, a fish often served on celebratory occasions) would be good, she suggests, in a homonymic play on Hirabayashi's given name. "She, with her hometown in the remote mountains of Shinshū" (another reference to Hirabayashi) shares in the narrator's impulsive abandon, and exclaims, "Tomorrow's wind will blow tomorrow, so let's buy something with all our money and send it off…"[52] The poem closes on the image of the "two walking wistfully hand in hand."[53] United they exclaim their shared desire – "let's break through this glass-like, stuffy atmosphere" – and, "singing [the song from] *The Lower Depths*," they "burst into laughter" in the city street.[54] Together they laugh in the face of their impoverished circumstances, and in defiance of the moneyed propriety of the merchants and shoppers of Nihonbashi whose lives are so far removed from their own vicissitudes of fortune as single working-class women. Despite their lack of money, the friends reject self-restraint and instead find an irreverent joy in one another's company in the present moment as they share in their indulgent dreams and uncompromising behavior.

With their shared laughter, the friends in "Buying Sea Bream" express a powerful united response to their common frustrations of poverty, hunger, and homesickness. The two friends' working class status sets them apart from the moneyed shoppers on the streets among whom they walk, but allies them not only with one another, but with others who appear in the poem: their working class parents living in the countryside, the young

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[51] Ibid., 26. 「鯛はいいな」

[52] Ibid., 27. 「信州の山深い古里を持つ彼女」;「明日は明日の風が吹くから、ありったけのぜにで買って送りましょう……。」

[53] Ibid., 28. 「二人はなぜか淋しく手を握りあって歩いたのです。」

[54] Ibid. 「ガラスのやうに固い空気なんて突き破って行かう／二人はどん底を唄ひながら／気ぜはしい街ではじけるやうに笑ひました。」 *The Lower Depths* (「どん底」, 1902) was a socialist realist play by Russian playwright Maxim Gorky which, when translated into Japanese, became a popular work performed by *Shingeki* ("New Theater") dramatic troupes in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. See Brown, 88n6.

boy tending the gift shop, and the poor people from the "lower depths" in the song they sing. Hayashi depicts how "in the same way, our eyes met and we laughed wistfully," as well as how "the two of us" shared the experiences of "walking the corners of the city in step with one another," "both sensing the same kind of laughter in one another," "walk[ing] holding hands with one another" and laughing aloud together.[55] In this way, the two women are shown to physically as well as emotionally support one another while each sharing in the other's experiences of the indignity of poverty.

In this instance of female friendship depicted by Hayashi, she celebrates the similarities between two working class women as factors enabling them to support one another as women and as fellow members of the working class in the face of difficult circumstances. That their personalities align so closely as well serves as an added bond between these two characters modeled after Hayashi and Hirabayashi. With their laughter they scorn those who would expect silence or restrained behavior from them as women in public, and as they burst into song they disrupt the atmosphere of the shopping area with the boisterous verve of a vagrants' song. The poem does not even specify precisely whether the women actually purchased the year-end gifts for their families, or if they just voiced their intent to do so; still, the most salient event depicted is the friends' endorsement of one another's attitudes and experiences through their shared smiles, laughter, and rallying cries. Their friendship soothes their individual frustrations as working women both dissatisfied with the constraints they face because of poverty and bourgeois propriety.

[55] Hayashi, "Tai o kau" in *HFZ*: 1, 25-28. 「同じやうに瞳と瞳をみあはせて淋しく笑ったのです」; 「二人」; 「足並そろへて街の片隅を歩いてゐた」; 「二人は同じやうな笑ひを感受しあって」; 「手を握りあって歩いたのです」.

Female friendships and redemptive relationships between women continued to feature prominently in literature by Hayashi. Often these relationships fostered circumstances in which female protagonists could overcome obstacles related to sex or class discrimination or the lack of familial support, and accomplish personal or professional goals. Depictions of women working together and providing emotional and material support to help one another endure difficult situations and the negative consequences of their relationships with men became a particular trademark of Hayashi's writing.[56] Introduced in her prose as early as *Diary of a Vagabond* (1928-1930), female friendships constituted a trope upon which Hayashi would rely again and again in numerous works throughout her career. Next I will discuss *Diary of a Vagabond* and "Downtown" ("Daun-taun," 1949), in terms of how they feature female friendships.[57] These are but two of Hayashi's many works of fiction featuring relationships between women as sources of solace, a list of which would also include such short stories of hers as "The Accordion and the Fish Town" ("Fūkin to uo no machi," 1931), "The Maid's Letters" ("Jochū no tegami," 1931), "The Woman I Met in the Colony" ("Shokuminchi de atta onna," 1931), and "Bones" ("Hone," 1949).[58] I see Hayashi's model of female friendship as a source of solace in the face of frustrated desires – often those generated by

[56] Ericson has characterized Hayashi as having "celebrat[ed] female relationships as the principal locus of altruism and affection" in her literature. See Ericson's essay "Hayashi Fumiko" in Joshua S. Mostow, et al., ed., *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature* (Columbia U.P., 2003), 159. Ericson also briefly alludes to the contrast between Hayashi's own reportedly strained relationships with fellow women writers and her literary depictions of positive relationships between women. Ericson further points out that Hayashi often depicted friendly relationships between women in contrast to hostile relationships between women and men (although she does not explore this phenomenon in further detail), as follows: "If her [viz., Hayashi's] biographers have emphasized her stormy relations with other women, particularly with any writers who might be perceived as rivals, then perhaps we should note that, unlike her life, her writing celebrated affectionate and altruistic relations among women that often sharply contrast with the cruelly exploitative nature of women's relations with men." See Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 99.

[57] See Hayashi, "Daun-taun" in *HFZ*: 9, 17-28.

[58] See Hayashi, "Fūkin to uo no machi" in *HFZ*: 2, 1-18; "Hone" in *HFZ*: 7, 243-257; "Jochū no tegami" in Hayashi Fumiko, *Kanojo no rireki*: *Kindai josei sakka seisenshū 033* (Yumani Shobō, 2000), 235-257; and "Shokuminchi de atta onna" in Hayashi, *Kanojo no rireki*, 275-286.

unsatisfying relationships with men – epitomized in the image of the "older sister" type who writes letters (often love letters) for her fellow female co-workers. Hayashi herself was reported to have played this role for her co-workers when she worked as a waitress at the café Tsuruya (鶴や) in Shinjuku.[59]

Diary of a Vagabond is most commonly known as an autobiographical poetic diary of a first-person narrator-protagonist sometimes known as "Fumiko" – modeled after Hayashi herself – who wanders throughout Tokyo and across Japan in pursuit of her desires: for home, food, family, companionship, joy, pleasure, and financial and artistic freedom.[60] While these pursuits propel the tale forward, the bulk of content in its series of diaristic dated entries concerns the narrator's encounters with a variety of women and girls whose work drives the businesses and thus the communities within which she wanders. *Diary of a Vagabond* is a predominantly a collection of female voices and tales

[59] Hirabayashi wrote of how Hayashi had written letters for her less educated female co-workers, and how they saw Hayashi as an older sister of sorts in the workplace where they both worked and lived. See Hirabayashi, "Watashi no rirekisho" in *HTZ*: 12, 57.

[60] Several English-language monographs have provided critiques and partial or full translations of *Hōrōki*. See Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* for a complete translation of *Hōrōki* (not including its two sequels) and a thorough literary historical analysis of the work and Hayashi's oeuvre in the context of modern Japanese "women's literature" (*joryū bungaku*). See Fessler, *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko* for a biographical and literary historical study of Hayashi including a chapter devoted to reading *Hōrōki* in the context of several of Hayashi's early short stories. Janice Brown provides translations of selected poems from *Hōrōki* and a provocative reading of Hayashi's early life and her persona as a poet in addition to a translation and critique of Hayashi's *I Saw a Pale Horse* (Aouma wo mitari). See Hayashi, Brown, trans., *I Saw a Pale Horse* (Aouma wo mitari) *and Selected Poems from Diary of a Vagabond* (Hōrōki). Yukiko Tanaka provides a biographical sketch of Hayashi and an introduction to *Hōrōki*, and Elizabeth Hanson provides a translation of excerpts from Hayashi's second sequel to *Hōrōki*, *Hōrōki dai sanbu* (originally published from 1947-1948), as "Vagabond's Song (excerpts, 1927)" in Tanaka, ed., *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913-1938.* (For a clarification of the version of *Hōrōki* translated in *To Live and To Write*, see Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 57 and 122.) In her work *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body*, Noriko Horiguchi provides an incisive reading of *Hōrōki*, among other works (and film adaptations of works) by Hayashi, in the contexts of empire and Japanese imperial expansion. See "Wandering on the Periphery: Hayashi Fumiko" in Noriko J. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 123-156. Tomoko Aoyama discusses food, hunger, eating, and writing in *Hōrōki*, among other prose and poetry by Hayashi, in her work *Reading Food in Modern Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

of women's experiences.[61] Certain female characters may have in common feelings of longing for male lovers, or the desire to cast off unworthy male partners to gain independence, but these men are largely absent from the text, and appear most commonly as references in memories, dreams, or stories women share with one another. The relatively few male characters in *Diary of a Vagabond* take shape in the context of their relation to female characters' dramatic conflicts. On the whole, these men depicted tend to disappoint the women whose lives the reader follows.

"Taiko" appears occasionally in *Diary of a Vagabond* as a friend, neighbor, and fellow writer of Fumiko's in Tokyo. As was true of Hirabayashi and Hayashi, "Taiko" and "Fumiko" have much in common, both in life -- struggling against poverty and hunger to pursue their own dreams -- and in love, each one navigating a succession of difficult relationships with men. Yet Taiko is just one of many female characters who emerge as friends and acquaintances of Fumiko over the course of *Diary of a Vagabond*. Some such characters play but fleeting roles in one or two consecutive episodes of the tale; some, like Taiko, recur intermittently throughout; others feature prominently in certain discrete sections of the tale.

The standout female friendship of *Diary of a Vagabond* is its last. Fumiko's friend Toki, sometimes affectionately called "Toki-chan," appears in the last six consecutive

[61] The widespread popularity of *Hōrōki* among an urban female readership, and the phenomenon of 2,000-some housewives having attended Hayashi's funeral service in 1951, both speak to the relevance of Hayashi's literature (and its depiction of women's lives) to women readers. *Hōrōki* sold 600,000 copies within the first two years of its publication as a discrete volume by Kaizōsha in July of 1930. Its popularity spurred the publication of two sequels (*Zoku Hōrōki*, November 1930, published by Kaizōsha, and *Hōrōki daisanbu*, 1949, published by Rume Shoten), additional revised editions of the text in 1939 and 1949 both published by Shinchōsha, and numerous reprint editions. See Brown, 20; Ericson, *Be a Woman,* 57, and 69-71; and Imagawa, "Nenpu," in *HFZ*: 16, 300-301, and 306-307. Many critics have cited the anecdote about the mass of housewives at Hayashi's funeral ceremony, some carrying babies on their backs or shopping baskets, who crowded the streets waiting to pay their respects, as proof of Hayashi's strong following among middle class and working class women readers. For example, see Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 100; and Fukuda Kiyoto and Endō Mitsuhiko, eds., *Hito to sakuhin 15: Hayashi Fumiko* (Century Books, Shimizu Shoin, 1989), 96.

dated entries of the tale, a long run given the reliably scattered focus of the tale's entries.[62] Fumiko seems to consider Toki a friend, love her, desire her, and pity her. They also work together, in a café, and live together, for at least part of these episodes. In the "January" entry in which she begins her six-entry appearance, Toki schemes with Fumiko how the two of them can best make enough money to support their newly rented household together, and how they should support one another's goals. They even bring up "Taiko" in this entry, by way of the bottom futon they are about to share that had once been hers. As Toki starts to worry about their finances, Fumiko reassures her in a characteristic depiction by Hayashi of female friendship as solace in the face of poverty.

> "I'm telling you everything's okay. From tomorrow I'll work really hard, so lift up your spirits and study, okay? I'll quit my job in Asakusa. I think it would be good to work at one of the cafes around Hibiya and commute, they say that there are lots of drinkers in that area…"
> "If I commute, that'll be fun for both of us. Food doesn't taste good if you eat it alone, you know." …
> "Let's both of us work really hard for a while, okay?"
> "It'll be fine if I can send thirty yen a month to my mother back in Zōshiki," Toki-chan responded.
> "I'll be getting a little bit from my manuscripts, so we'll get by if we just stop worrying and work."[63]

In a way this exchange is so affectionate, it smacks of sisterhood or friendship between young girls, especially where Toki and Fumiko repeatedly invoke themselves as a pair ("us"), and declare their mutual willingness to make sacrifices for one another or for the sake of them both.

The next entry, from "February," depicts their relationship as even more intimate, in a sexualized scene of Toki singing a love song, her "bare white ankles astride…

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[62] Here I am referring to the version of *Diary of a Vagabond* (*Hōrōki*) published in 1939 by Shinchōsha. See also *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 265-356. Note that English translations from *Diary of a Vagabond* here are not my own. I follow Joan Ericson's translations in her *Be a Woman*. See citations below.
[63] See Ericson, 209; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 352.

[Fumiko's] pillow."[64] Later in that same entry, discouraged to find that the editor she'd gone to visit had already left for home for the day, Fumiko reminds herself that "Toki-chan told me to keep to my writing."[65] This spurs her onward, and thwarts her initial impulse to give up on writing and return to working in a café. Even apart from Toki, Fumiko finds the memory of her words motivating in the face of challenges. This entry also notably introduces a number of additional women with whom Fumiko engages in and around her new apartment building: "the lady downstairs" who lends them charcoal, "the landlady," "someone's mistress," and "women in purple coats or red coats… returning home from work, walking against the snow."[66] Women outnumber men as the social backdrop for this glimpse of Fumiko's February sharing a room with Toki. Fumiko has come to seem quite invested in her bond with Toki in this entry. The entry closes with Fumiko's musing that, "Toki-chan was probably shuffling numbly in the snow like a stray dog."[67] Toki, as observed and imagined by Fumiko in this entry, is slowly fleshed out to appear not only as an encouraging presence keeping Fumiko company, but as an amusing, alluring, and even piteous amalgam of girl and adult woman alike.

"February" is still the title of the next entry, in which Toki seems more and more to play the part of a breadwinning man in a relationship with a woman, inspiring in Fumiko descriptions of longing reminiscent of a lovers' tale. In the previous entry, Toki had informed Fumiko she would return late from looking for work. This "February" begins with a seemingly lovelorn Fumiko waiting up for Toki's return "in vain," lonely and sad at the thought of going to sleep without her there. Yet when Toki returns in the

[64] See Ericson, 210; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 352.
[65] See Ericson, 211; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 353.
[66] See Ericson, 210-211; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 353-354.
[67] See Ericson, 211; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 354.

middle of the night, drunk, and apologizes to Fumiko, her tears make her seem "just like a spoiled child."[68] As if the man who had drunkenly yelled out "good-bye" to Toki that night were Fumiko's rival for Toki's affections, Fumiko and Toki lapse into a bitter silence that night and the next day.

In the next two entries, also entitled "February," Fumiko deflects neighbors' concern over Toki's erratic comings and goings, and finds herself counting the days since she last saw Toki. Her tone in the second of these two entries shifts to a more sympathetic older sister's (or even a parent's) voice, as if pleading with Toki to return for her own sake.

> It has been five days since Toki-chan last came home. I awaited news desperately. She was lost to that ring and coat. What has she gotten herself into? I kept telling her that poverty wasn't disgraceful… but an eighteen-year-old probably wants both red lipstick and purple coats.[69]

In the final entry of *Diary of a Vagabond*, again "February," Toki has sent a letter apologizing that she has been forced to work for the man who had given her the ring she wore recently. Despite the circumstances, she continues to look out ways to support her friend, and so feels slightly reassured by the man's promise to send Fumiko "about forty yen"[70] each month. In her disdain for Toki's decisions, Fumiko returns to a sexualized longing for Toki, now out of her reach as friend or (surrogate) lover. She describes Toki's beauty in an almost predatory tone, and laments that her beauty would be wasted upon such an old man. Fumiko and Toki's relationship has similarities to Toki's relationship with her new "boss" as well as it contrasts with it. No men appear in this entry, although by two different

[68] See Ericson, 212; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 354.
[69] See Ericson, 213; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 355.
[70] See Ericson, 213; and Hayashi, *Hōrōki Dai-ichibu* in *HFZ*: 1, 356.

letters we hear of Toki's new boss and Fumiko's editor, Shiraki, who sends her payment for her manuscripts. At this close of the Fumiko and Toki miniseries of entries, although they have not proven able to support one another as adequately as they had planned when they first moved in to their rented room together, their relationship has been a temporary respite from their financial and emotional worries.

Hayashi's story "Downtown" features a dramatic arc wherein the resolution of the female protagonist's despair at her financial and emotional circumstances hinges upon the solace implied by the story's brief final image, of the warmth of a welcoming group of women working together. Riyo, an impoverished single mother, bereft at her husband's years-long absence since the war, struggles to accept the sudden news of the death of a male friend, Tsuruishi Yoshio, with whom she and her son had grown close over the course of the story. Rebuffed by a succession of men and women uninterested in purchasing the tea she sells door-to-door, and without a home of her own or other friends on whom to rely, at the close of the story she nevertheless draws strength from a chance encounter with the kindness of a group of similarly destitute women working alongside one another.[71]

> Riyo sat down on the green grass of the riverbank. Next to a chunk of concrete beneath her eyes, a dead kitten faced away from her, discarded. Riyo quickly stood up, hoisted up the load on her shoulders and walked toward the station. Entering a side street suddenly, she called out through the glass door of the entrance to a poor-looking, boarded-up house.

[71] See Hayashi, "Daun-taun" in *HFZ*: 9, 17-28. Originally published in *Bessatsu Shōsetsu Shinchō* (Shinchōsha, April 1949). Ivan Morris translated "Daun-taun" (actually the *kana* gloss for the title's *kanji* reading "Shitamachi" 『下町(ダウン・タウン)』) as "Tokyo" in the collection he edited, *Modern Japanese Stories* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961), 336-350. Lawrence Rogers included a translation of the story more faithful to Hayashi's text than Morris' translation, in his collection *Tokyo Stories*. See "The Old Part of Town," in Lawrence Rogers, trans. & ed., *Tokyo Stories: A Literary Stroll* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 122-139. See also Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 83-84.

> "Would you like some Shizuoka tea?" "Oh, how much is it? It's expensive, right?" As Riyo opened the door, two or three women who seemed to be doing piecework stitching together *tabi* socks turned to her. "Wait just a moment, would you? I'll look for an empty canister," said a petite woman as she disappeared into the next room. The women, who were like Riyo herself, busily stitched the *tabi* soles. Occasionally their needles glinted.[72]

Despite their own meager circumstances, the women entertain the idea of purchasing some of the tea Riyo sells as her only livelihood. In this way, the women perform the same act of kindness as had Yoshio upon his first encounter with Riyo, suggesting at least their partial eligibility as a substitute for him, who Riyo has just lost. (Yoshio had welcomed her into his shabby living space and purchased some of her tea at the start of the story.) This image of industrious women sharing their burdens together and reaping the benefits of resilience and mutual kindness offers a sense of hope that Riyo will be able to endure even her tragic situation, with the support of such women as these pieceworkers. She may have just lost her new chance at love, and she may still have no idea if her husband will return from Siberia to her and her son, but despite her frustrated romantic desire, she seems able to draw strength – a kind of working class, female solidarity – from the company of these women in a similar situation to her own. Although only a short closing paragraph, the image of women similar to Riyo busily working together provides a light, if dim, in the form of the women's glinting needles, to guide Riyo in her aimless despair. Whether such guidance might lead Riyo to the comfort

[72] See Hayashi, "Daun-taun" in *HFZ*: 9, 28.「りよは堤の青草の上に腰を降ろした。眼の下の、コンクリートのかけらのそば に、仔猫の死骸が向うむきに捨ててあつた。りよはすぐ立つて肩の荷をゆすぶりあげて駅の方へ歩いた。ふつと横路地をはいると、玄関の硝子格子に、板の打ちつけてある貧しげな家へ声をかけた。「静岡のお茶はいりませんでせうか？」「さうね、いくら？高いのでせう？」りよが格子を開けると、足袋の芯縫ひを内 職にしてゐるらしく、二三人の女がこつちを向いた。「一寸待つて下さいな。今空鑵探してみますからね」と、次の間へ小柄な女が消えて行つた。自分と同じやうな女達がせつせと足袋底を縫つてゐる。時々針が光つた。」

to be found in focusing on work, or the solace of the companionship of fellow workers remains for the reader to imagine.

Whether relationships between female characters comprise an extended focus of the story, as in *Diary of a Vagabond*, or whether female characters appear together briefly and more one-dimensionally in service of a story's narrative arc, as in "Downtown," women facing shared plights provide solace and serve to model resilience for one another in a range of Hayashi's literature. Often, these female characters' sympathies toward one another in supportive relationships arise in response to (and serve as foils for) their unsatisfying romantic relationships with male characters. Yet regardless of the bonds linking them in relationships, as I have pointed out, female friendships in Hayashi's fiction consistently serve to contrast with her depictions of women's relationships with men, as sources of solace as opposed to sources of strife and discrimination.

As a postscript to this overview of Hayashi's depiction of relationships between women in her literature, I will briefly consider the literary historical context against which I position my analysis here. In a remark which has since become largely inescapable in biographical materials on Hayashi, the writer Kawabata Yasunari (川端康成), speaking as an erstwhile mentor of Hayashi's, famously offered an apology on Hayashi's behalf in his eulogy at her funeral, for her supposedly notorious incivility to her fellow women writers.[73] Enchi Fumiko also alluded to Hayashi's antagonistic regard

[73] Kawabata's remark, according to literary critic Itagaki Naoko (板垣直子), was as follows:「故人は、文学的生命を保つため、他に対して、時にはひどいこともしたのでありますが、しかし、後二、三時間もすれば、故人は灰となってしまいます。死は一切の罪悪を消滅させますから、どうか故人を許して貰いたいと思います」. See Isogai Hideo, ed., *Shinchō Nihon Bungaku Arubamu 34: Hayashi Fumiko* (Shinchōsha, 1986), 73. See also Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 98; and Roger Pulvers, "Fumiko Hayashi: Haunted to the grave by her wartime 'flute and drums'" in *The Japan Times*, at http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2012/06/24/opinion/fumiko-hayashi-haunted-to-the-grave-by-her-wartime-flute-and-drums/#.Uzu_OMfUUy5, accessed on April 2, 2014.

of her fellow women writers in an oft-repeated comment of her own, on the occasion of Hayashi's funeral.[74] In a similar vein, even brief accounts of Hayashi's death (by heart failure) often qualify its suddenness as having been brought about by "overwork,"[75] whether these accounts go on to explicitly state (or just implicitly suggest) that Hayashi hoarded writing assignments so as to prevent them from going to other writers, especially women writers, whom she considered her competition.

By asking her fellow women writers to forgive Hayashi's having exhibited a trait (he saw as) incongruous with her persona as a woman writer, Kawabata voiced a reprimand against Hayashi for having acted in a way he considered unbecoming for a woman, in as much as (he would argue that) a woman writer in the literary establishment should first be defined by her identity as a woman. Where to Kawabata, women (writers) should possess the virtue of sisterhood in their associations with other women (writers), Hayashi transgressed the role of woman (writer) by overtly competing with other women writers. At the same time, however, Kawabata's remarks attest to the fact that Hayashi could not escape the identity of woman writer as the primary category within which critics necessarily located her throughout her life. The misguided paternalism of

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[74] Ericson translates Enchi's comment as follows: "No matter how busy, no matter what the magazine, [Hayashi] would accept all requests for articles. And then she would extend the deadlines until the very last minute possible. In other words, she didn't want the work to go to anyone else [even if she couldn't complete the job]. And as if that weren't enough, she would readily agree to take someone else's manuscript and pretend to go about getting it published, only to return it claiming that all the magazines had turned it down, when it really had just been tucked away in her desk drawer all the time. She was not about to give up any of her own opportunities to anyone else. I understand that she betrayed the confidence of quite a few people." See Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 98. See also Ogata Akiko, Nyonin Geijutsu *no hitobito* (Domesu Shuppan, 1981), 44-45.

[75] For selected examples of biographies of Hayashi which cite overwork as her cause of death, See Brown, 20; and Pulvers, "Fumiko Hayashi: Haunted to the grave by her wartime 'flute and drums.'" Hayashi's doctor had supposedly warned her of the danger of overwork in an examination not long before her death; this may be the source of the term's association with her ultimate cause of death. A similar rumored refrain surrounding Hayashi's death was that she had been "killed by journalism," (「ジャーナリズムに殺された」) meaning the (large number of) essays and stories she made time to write for publication in periodicals. See, for example, Isogai, 95.

Kawabata's attempt to posthumously reconcile Hayashi with a female subset of her professional colleagues aside, literary critics have memorialized Hayashi in terms of her supposed hypercompetitive regard of other women writers through their reinscription of such statements as these by Kawabata and Enchi in studies of Hayashi and her work. These studies have served to perpetuate the sexist double standard of critique to which Hayashi and her early-to-mid-Shōwa female contemporaries were subjected during their careers, where women writers were critiqued apart from men writers, yet nonetheless subjected to the critical standards set forth by a (largely male) literary establishment privileging men's views of how women (writers) should act and write. For example, Hayashi's unwillingness to cede writing opportunities to other writers was seen as uncollegial behavior toward her fellow women writers, but one could imagine how such a trait in a man might have easily elicited praise as ambition.

Actually, over time Hayashi did strive to establish herself as a mainstream writer outside of the subcategories of "women's literature" and "women writers" and their associated stereotypes. As Mori Eiichi (森英一) and Joan Ericson have shown, Hayashi worked to shape her professional persona according to the standards set by the most successful (men) writers writing at the time, gradually moving away from her earlier autobiographical mode toward a more objective literary style of fiction, a shift visible in her work "Oysters" ("Kaki," 1935).[76] In what seems aligned with this initiative, Hayashi even came to disavow the personal significance of female friendship in an essay on friendship later in her career.[77] Yet despite Hayashi's having achieved such acclaim as a

[76] See "Shōsetsu sakuhō no etoku: 'Kaki' hoka" in Mori Eiichi, *Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen* (Yūseidō, 1992), 114-130; and "Aesthetic Transformation" in Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 76-79.
[77] Hayashi discussed her attitudes toward the relative importance of friendships with women and men, and her own history of friendships, in her 1941 essay "A Procession of Friendships." She wrote, "It is the most

writer that her *Diary of a Vagabond* was considered a best-seller and she was "often selected in mainstream literary anthologies,"[78] sometimes as the sole woman writer among men writers, she has remained marked primarily as a "woman writer," subject to judgment on the basis of her character and conduct as they constituted acceptable behavior for a woman writer. Continuing to invoke a narrative prominently featuring Hayashi's incivility toward other women writers undermines these accomplishments of Hayashi's by framing them as a betrayal of her peers, assuming that she should be judged first as a woman writer, rather than as a writer with both male and female peers.

I suggest that while we must pay attention to how women writers such as Hayashi situated themselves vis-à-vis the critical construct of modern Japanese "women's literature" wherein they faced a double-bind of critique on the basis of their sex, we must also consider how we can complement such attention with historical and textual analysis which constructively analyzes how these writers effected their literary innovations even despite being pigeonholed by the "women's literature" label. What gets reinforced in the repetition of the biographical critical narrative highlighting Hayashi's competitive spirit and her antagonism toward women writers is the gendered belief that women writers ought to support one another in their careers, and that by doing otherwise they betray the female-gendered identity of the woman writer or breach the expected sisterhood of women writers. Women writers from the working class who actually did rely on one another's support on their path to entering the literary establishment, such as Hayashi and

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I can do now to pour my energy into my work… There are very few people whom I would call a friend. … One could say that currently I do not have even one friend who is a woman writer. … I don't really want fussy friends."「私は、現在は私の作品に力をそそぐことがせいいっぱいであり…（前略）私は友人と云ふものは非常にすくない。（前略） ものを書いてゐる女のひとの友人は、私にはいまのところ一人もないといっていい。（前略） 私はあまり、こせこせした友人はほしくないのだ。」See Hayashi, "Yūjō no purotsesshio" in *HFZ*: 16, 122-128.

[78] Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 97.

Hirabayashi – in contrast to women writers from wealthier backgrounds like Miyamoto Yuriko, who had the means to acquire introductions to established male writers – seemed to have been especially beholden to this expectation, as if dually obligated to remain supportive not only toward other women, but also above all to those women with whom they shared class origins. Hirabayashi cautioned Hayashi in an early review of *I Saw a Pale Horse* to take care not to exploit the fact that women are commonly depicted as weak or pitiable by inscribing feeble female characters in her own writing in an effort to appeal to readers.[79] In the same way, I posit my reading of Hayashi and Hirabayashi's early friendship as a possible catalyst for their writing in opposition to readings of Hayashi which would examine her relationships with other women writers primarily in order to pass judgment on her character. Rather than condemning Hayashi as a woman for rejecting the stereotypical female virtue of sisterhood toward all women, I choose to consider how new interpretations of Hayashi's sociality within the literary establishment might show her to have mobilized emotional and material resources available to her at different moments in her life to forge her career as a writer.

Female Friendship as Class Alliance Against Discrimination in the Literature of Hirabayashi Taiko

Just as Hirabayashi argued in her criticism for the need to depict female characters as whole individuals, possessing strengths as well as weaknesses, as any human, she practiced this as well in her literature. This practice constituted one way in which Hirabayashi depicted relationships between women somewhat differently than did

[79] See Hirabayashi, "Sehyō to kanojo: Hayashi Fumiko no tame ni" in *HTZ*: 10, 329-331. Hirabayashi especially criticized this practice as it represented Hayashi's pandering to the expectations and hollow sympathies of middle class and upper-middle class women readers of her work regarding women from the working class.

Hayashi, the topic I will discuss here. The single kimono as a trope marking the poverty of a female character recurs throughout Hirabayashi's literary oeuvre as well as Hayashi's, as does the female character who is on first-name basis with the local pawnshop proprietor. In both her prewar and postwar periods of writing activity, Hirabayashi wrote a number of literary works in which relationships between female characters, especially working class women, figured centrally. These stories commonly present an implicit critique of women's assumptions that they will share values with other women on the basis of their shared gender, without considering the ramifications of their class and individual personality differences. Hirabayashi writes relationships between female characters in which socioeconomic class figures more prominently than shared gender identity to ally individuals. As a result, female friendships and relationships between women in Hirabayashi's writings do not serve as a largely uniform space of solace and altruism as in Hayashi's writing, but rather exhibit a range of shifting antagonistic, synergistic, and ambivalent bonds hinging upon the affinity of characters' perspectives on the class struggle closely tied to their socioeconomic class identities.

Hirabayashi's works often critique classism by showing how a shared appreciation for a particular class's values (and an understanding of how class struggle structures society) necessarily decides the fate of relationships between people from different classes. Often, this critique plays out in stories about female characters as Hirabayashi simultaneously challenges the bourgeois structures of feminism – an approach, in line with her commitments to socialism and women's rights, attentive to the intersection of class and sex in the lives of women. Hirabayashi deploys her dual critique within narratives of the everyday relationships of women, ranging from groups of female

prisoners and socialist activists, to factory laborers, neighboring housewives, and girls' high school classmates. Where Hirabayashi illustrates relationships between women as contingent upon class, and humanizes her female characters as multidimensional beings with strengths as well as weaknesses through omniscient glimpses into their diverse individual identities, she portrays female friendships (and a range of relationships between women) with greater attention to their constitutive bonds than does Hayashi. Nevertheless, Hirabayashi shared with Hayashi the tendency to depict female friendships in opposition to women's relationships with men. Still, Hirabayashi more than Hayashi portrayed women's alliances attentive to how they could serve as sources of mutual support in the face of men as agents of both classist and sexist discrimination.

Some of Hirabayashi's works which treat female friendships as class alliances in the face of discrimination include "The Laborers' Wives" ("Rōdōsha no tsuma," 1929),[80] "The Girls" ("Kanojotachi," 1932),[81] and "The Wise Wife" ("Kenpujin," 1932),[82] to name but a few. Here I will first look at relationships between women in Hirabayashi's early short story "The Old Cupboard" ("Furutodana," 1926),[83] published when Hirabayashi and Hayashi were living together. This story depicts the lives of two girls, Nobue and Yoshino, as they go from studying together in elementary school to being recruited into working together in a silk mill near Lake Suwa (where they agreed to work to pay for their school expenses), to living and working together as roommates and co-

[80]「労働者の妻」 "The Laborers' Wives" ("Rōdōsha no tsuma") in *HTZ*: 1, 241-247. Originally published in *Shūkan Asahi* (June 1929). Its previous title was 「女給」"The Waitresses" ("Jokyū").
[81]「彼女たち」"The Girls" ("Kanojotachi") in *HTZ*: 2, 37-42. Originally published in *Shinchō* (January 1932).
[82]「賢夫人」 "The Wise Wife" ("Kenpujin") in *HTZ*: 2, 106-109. Originally published in *Women's World* [「婦女界」, *Fujokai*] (August 1932).
[83] 「古戸棚」 "The Old Cupboard" ("Furutodana") in *HTZ*: 1, 27-31. Originally published in *Bungei Sensen* (Dec. 1926).

workers at a telephone company in Tokyo, all in the pursuit of education. Throughout the story they act in unison and share many emotions with one another. "The two" (「二人は」) forms a common refrain, narrating Nobue and Yoshino together as one collective subject.

At the silk mill, they watch the factory owner's twin daughters in their crisp school uniforms – a convenient bourgeois foil for Nobue and Yoshino –and dream aloud of leaving their miserable workers' lives to have their own chance to study. Relieved to find they share the desire to study, "together the two both spit out what they had kept hidden within themselves, cursing to their hearts' content their dissatisfaction with factory life."[84] They both hold contempt for their exploitative working conditions as powerful as their desire to attend school full-time. Although they worry that trouble might befall their parents who had accepted money from the factory's representatives when they signed on to work at the factory, the girls decide one night that the time has come, and they escape to Tokyo.

Once in Tokyo, the two find themselves drawn to a dusty sign advertising a call for girls to work as clerks at a telephone bureau. Its promise of generous starting wages, its accompanying photographs of refined, stylish (*haikarana*) young women engaged in "the civilized pursuits of women"[85] – flower arranging, playing piano, and socializing with fellow co-workers in an elegant Western-style room – and its claim even to offer the opportunity to attend a school on its premises all entice Nobue and Yoshino, who decide to apply there the next day. The two naïvely trust the older women clerks at the bureau

[84] 「二人は（略）互いの胸にかくしていた、この工場生活に対する不平を思うさま悪態な言葉で吐き合った。」 See Hirabayashi, "Furutodana," in *HTZ*: 1, 27.
[85] The caption to these photographs accompanying the advertisement marked them as (images of)「『女性の文明的な職業』」. Ibid., 29.

who guide them through the application and training processes while deflecting their questions about the bureau's school with purposely misleading answers. Ultimately, this agency is but another exploitative workplace, its advertisement merely a lure to attract unsuspecting young women who might agree to endure working there in the hopes of taking advantage of its attached schooling and its purportedly refined cultural environment.

While all the women working at the bureau can in some ways be considered allied with one another as workers against their male bosses, the more senior female staff members alternate between sympathizing with Nobue and Yoshino, and leaving them to their mistaken understandings. These senior trainers and cashiers may come from working class backgrounds like the girls, or they may be petit bourgeois, but their age and their seniority as more established residents of Tokyo lend them a comparative sophistication. In their decisions whether to tell younger workers Nobue and Yoshino the truth about their workplace, they wield this power of personal sophistication alongside their authority as more senior workers (likely) obliged not to disabuse new recruits of their illusions about work at the bureau. For example, after their first day's training at the bureau, when Nobue informs their instructor of her desire to attend the bureau school, the instructor defers her comment in a voice tinged with pity, despite wielding the obscure explanation that the opportunity to attend the school would come "after training, when they were officially appointed."[86] The instructor correctly assumed that she could delay further questions from these girls from the provinces by using this term with which they were bound not to recognize.

[86] 「『あれは、見習がすんで、拝命してから』」 Ibid.

Impatient after finding the advertisement had misled them as well about their wages, the two ask directly to see the school they had seen advertised on the dusty old sign. Nobue and Yoshino find that its "school" is in fact nothing more than an old glass cupboard locked with a rusted key, dust-covered and containing a laughable assortment of meager "specimens" (*hyōhon* 標本) like common shells, and a stuffed sparrow for "the study of plants and animals."[87] Nobue and Yoshino share in the shock of this moment of discovery at the close of "The Old Cupboard." Although in their chagrin they can provide little solace for one another beyond a laugh of disbelief at their dashed expectations for a more sophisticated life as workers in a Tokyo workplace, they bear witness to each other's experience of betrayal and remain in physical solidarity as working class coworkers and roommates. Having been exposed to a wider world of disappointing truths beyond their hometown and their former factory workplace, they can no longer identify with the hopes they had only months before. Their desire to pursue education and live the culturally sophisticated life of a girls' high school student have led them to fall prey to both rural and urban employers' schemes. Nobue and Yoshino find themselves less able to romanticize the life of the female student the more they realize how difficult it is for working class girls to assume that identity. Their loss of this dream is conveyed by the recurring image of the decorative ribbons on the school uniforms of the factory owner's daughters, which no longer conjure up the image of a butterfly in the girls' imaginations. Still, at the close of the story, their mutual resistance inspires them to find new dreams they might move on to pursue together.[88]

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[87] 「『（前略）時々、動物や植物の勉強をするんです』」 Ibid., 30.
[88] 「二人は、反抗心の中から、新しい希望を見出して、同じ仲間の間へ割り込んで行った。」 Ibid., 30-31.

The disparate ways in which two women from different class backgrounds approach educational opportunities forms the crux of "The Schoolgirls" ("Jogakusei," 1930), Hirabayashi's story of a young woman who comes of age in Shinshū, which incorporates some autobiographical strands from Hirabayashi's own young adulthood, and is reminiscent in some ways of "The Old Cupboard" as well.[89] "The Schoolgirls" depicts a working-class girl's path to self-sufficiency in her chosen career helping fellow working women to organize as laborers, and how she navigates her relationships with fellow classmates once she decides upon this path. Its protagonist, an ambitious girl named Sadako, decides that despite her family's impoverished circumstances relative to many of her elementary school classmates, she will apply to attend a girls' high school (女学校, *jogakkō*).[90] Sadako's father only allows her to attend because she places first on the entrance examination, a situation mirroring Hirabayashi's own adolescence. Yet this permission is obtained only after the start of the term, when Sadako has settled for attending the less prestigious advanced course (高等科, *kōtōka*) offered to elementary school graduates. She transfers after her family scrapes together the funds to send her to

[89] Hirabayashi developed a friendship with Sakai Magara (境真柄), the daughter of Socialist party president Sakai Toshihiko (堺利彦).The two young women shared their thoughts in letters they exchanged about foreign literature, leftist politics and woman's role in political activism during the late 1910s. When Hirabayashi moved to Tokyo the day after graduating from a girls' high school, she went directly to Sakai Magara's home to stay until she had secured a job. (Although I should note that by mentioning this anecdote here, I do not mean to imply that the relationship depicted in "Jogakusei" was modeled after Hirabayashi's friendship with Sakai.) See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 5-7; and Hirabayashi, "Jogakusei," in *HTZ*: 1, 324-327.

[90] *Jogakkō* (女学校) were institutions of secondary education made available in every prefecture in Japan with the promulgation of the 1899 Order on Girls' High Schools (Kōtō Jogakkō Rei), which advanced curriculum in line with the policy of *ryōsai kenbo* ("good wife, wise mother"). Girls' high schools admitted students who had completed six years of compulsory elementary education and passed an entrance examination. See Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 185; and Iwabuchi, Kitada, and Hasegawa, eds., *Kokubungaku Kaishaku to Kanshō Bessatsu*: *Hennentai Kindai gendai josei bungakushi*, 36.

the girls' high school, but after two years of study there, she cannot hide her disappointment. To her, the school "only seemed useful for a trousseau."[91]

Several other factors lead Sadako to consider changing course at this point: her disillusionment with the school's policing of the students' female virtue and with her teachers who condescended to her because of her poverty, her disdain for her richer classmates' instrumental view of the schooling as part of their course toward womanhood as bourgeois housewives, and her nascent interest in socialism.[92] Practical yet impulsive, Sadako had originally wanted to support herself financially through work, but feared that her lack of skill at sewing and penmanship would interfere with this goal were she to follow in her older sisters' footsteps and work at the local silk mill. She considers quitting the girls' school in her second year, but, always thinking in terms of the economics of her situation, her concern for the loss of investment this would inflict upon her parents persuades her to persist. At last, in the autumn of her fourth year at the school, she decides to visit her old classmate from elementary school who boards at a factory in Okatani. Sadako's classmate, despite at first giving Sadako a look as if she were a "traitor," arranges for her to work at the factory as a new worker, much to her mother's dismay.[93] Even at the factory, however, although Sadako makes friends with her fellow

[91] Hirabayashi, "Jogakusei," in *HTZ*: 1, 325.「それはまるで嫁入道具にしか役立ちそうもない学校であった。」

[92] She is hurt by her teachers' criticism when, confronted with the news that the principal of the school had seen her in the local library reading a socialist text one day, in surprise and confusion they asked why a poor girl such as herself would get mixed up in such a place.

[93] Hirabayashi, "Jogakusei," in *HTZ*: 1, 325. One can assume that the mother, despite discouraging Sadako from pinning her hopes on attending the girls' high school at the start of the story, had come to hope that Sadako would gain some social mobility from her education at the school, and move on from there to a more prosperous life than her siblings, whether through marriage or work somewhere more lucrative than a factory. (It is unclear if this is the same factory where Sadako's older sisters had worked before marrying.) Although the story does not specify, one can also assume that at this point Sadako has decided to drop out of the girls' high school by no longer attending classes, in order to work at the factory.

new workers, she doesn't quite fit in, and office staff and senior silk workers make scornful comments about her behind her back.

After Sadako has been living at the factory for a bit, she realizes that the daughter of the factory's owner had been her classmate at the girls' high school. As a mixture of regret and indignation well up within her, Sadako watches the factory owner's daughter leave the factory from a back door every morning to attend the school.

> Every morning, near the time of the inbound train at a few minutes past 7, the daughter would leave through the wooden door in the rear, carrying her bag with the [school's] crest. There were days when she would go carrying an embroidery frame, and days when she would go holding a bundle of sewing. On the one hand she was even of the mind that she didn't want the school to know she was at this factory, but on the other, she had the self-satisfaction to say 'we're the ones keeping them alive.'[94]

Just at the moment when Sadako was finding new meaning in her work at the factory after her dissatisfying experience at the girls' high school, encountering a former classmate in the factory owner's daughter forces her to confront her remaining attachments to the school and its bourgeois ideas of women's education. In the final sentence quoted above, Hirabayashi's omniscient narrator exposes the complexity of Sadako's unresolved thoughts about the girls' high school, stirred up by the figure of the factory owner's daughter commuting to her former school.

At the story's climax, Sadako spearheads an effort to organize the workers at the factory to resist the return of night work. Meanwhile, it comes to light that among her classmates at the girls' high school, someone had run away to visit a socialist in Tokyo, and visits to the local library (such as Sadako had made) were becoming increasingly

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[94] Hirabayashi, "Jogakusei," in *HTZ*: 1, 325.「毎朝、七時何分の上り列車の時間時近くなると、娘がモンの鞄をかけて裏の木戸から出て行く。刺繍の枠をさげて行く日もあり、裁縫の包みをかかえて行く日もある。一方ではこの工場にいるということを学校に知られたくない心理もあったが、一方では、『あいつら生かしてやっているのは自分達だ』という自己満足があった。」

popular, leading to large-scale student expulsions. The school requests that Sadako be (formally) expelled as well. When news of the walkout at the factory makes the local newspaper, Sadako's relationship with the factory owner's daughter, her former girls' school classmate, takes a new turn and their divergent choices come to cement their relationship as an antagonistic one. "… That Sadako and the daughter of the factory['s owner] were classmates was noted with interest in the article. The daughter told the reporter for the local newspaper, 'Sadako has been a delinquent ever since we were in school.'"[95] The classmate confirms her disapproval of Sadako's choices with this public expression of contempt, and disavows their common backgrounds (as classmates at the girls' high school and as connected to the same factory) in favor of her own bourgeois aspirations a world apart from the concerns of factory laborers like Sadako. That Sadako's classmate would claim that Sadako's delinquency was nothing new confirms that she had internalized the classist judgment of Sadako's girls' high school teachers, and saw no grounds upon which she needed ally herself with Sadako.

In "The Schoolgirls," Hirabayashi illuminates a conflict forged at the intersection of a personal relationship (although more an extended acquaintance in this case) with opposing political stances informed by different class allegiances and attitudes toward womanhood. Sadako's girls' high school classmates, training for lives as housewives, contrast with the working class women who labor at the factory to provide for their families or attain financial independence. The factory owner's daughter and Sadako first occupy the same space of the girls' high school, at which they arrived from very different socioeconomic circumstances, and move toward choosing opposite destinations – Sadako

[95] Ibid., 326.「… 定子とこの工場の娘とが同級であることなどが興味的に書き立てられた。その娘はこの地方の新聞記者に、『定子さんは学校にいる時から不良だった』と語った。」

moves to the factory, while the factory owner's daughter commutes daily to the school, away from the factory – by the story's end. The story closes at a point six years after the walkout article incident, during which time Sadako has continued to work to organize the female workers at another (unspecified) factory. She presses on, secure in the value of her work, despite acknowledging the perplexing difficulty of organizing female workers in the textile industry. Her name, Sadako (定子), written with the character「定」(*sada*) meaning "certain," "clear," or "to determine," may even suggest this altruistic fate and her singular dedication to her career path.[96] Both her ultimately supportive and unsupportive classmates, on the other hand, appear in the story only as one of a few variations upon the respective phrases "the elementary school classmate" and "the factory owner's daughter.[97] As these characters relate to Sadako on the basis of their class identities, it is fitting that they are identified by terms which indicate their status. While Sadako's former elementary school classmate helped her secure a position within the factory and thus take a step toward her professional goals, the factory owner's daughter chose to sever any sympathetic associations she might have shared with Sadako, to withdraw any implicit support for Sadako's work or choice of career, and to position herself more firmly within the bourgeoisie. In the end Sadako's shared bonds and history together with the factory owner's daughter were shown to be insufficient as grounds upon which they could forge a friendship or mutually supportive relationship, given their antagonistic class statuses.

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[96] Indra Levy proposed the idea of analyzing the Chinese characters of these names in an early conversation about this story in the summer of 2007.

[97] The terms are "*shōgakkō no dōkyūsei*" (小学校の同級生) and "*kono kōjō no kōjōshu no musume*" (この工場の工場主の娘,) respectively. Variations include: "the classmate" (*dōkyūsei,* 同級生), and "the factory's daughter" (この工場の娘, *kono kōjō no musume*), or just, "the daughter" (娘, *musume*), respectively. See Hirabayashi, "Jogakusei," in *HTZ*: 1, 325-326.

Hirabayashi's short story "The Shopgirl's Lament" ("Joten'in no fuhei," 1931)[98] also illustrates female friendships as class alliances, and in particular, one woman's ambivalent response to the support of her co-workers when faced with the frustration of poverty. Shopgirls in a Tokyo department store support one another against the predatory flirtations of a shoplifting con man and the exploitative practices of their male employers, although even their mutual support cannot assuage the turmoil of young adulthood or the humiliation of poverty they face. Shopgirl Michie's encounter with a suave shoplifter at the gemstone counter she tends inspires her to reevaluate her attitudes toward love and work, and to ultimately consider how she might draw strength from the support of fellow women workers.

Hirabayashi draws attention to the ways women negotiate multiple identities tied to their sex and their class, and depicts the department store as a site where sexual and material consumption are inseparably intertwined – an allegorical microcosm of the capitalist workplace. Michie juggles her gender role as a young woman on display as a "face" of the department store with her roles as a working class shopgirl and sole wage earner in need of money to support her family, a co-worker to her female working class peers, a daughter, and a sister. But before we even learn about these identities of Michie's, however, Hirabayashi sets the scene with an allegorical description of the "girls" of the gemstone case, describing each gemstone as a young lady of a different temperament and style, altogether comprising a group comparable to both the shopgirls themselves and the bourgeois women they served at their counters. This opening description both presents an indictment of consumerism and primes the reader to consider the contrasts between the

[98] Hirabayashi Taiko,「女店員の不平」 "The Shopgirl's Lament" ("Joten'in no fuhei") in *HTZ*: 1, 363-372. Originally published in the *Weekly Asahi* [「週刊朝日」 *Shūkan Asahi*] (January 1931).

shopgirls and their customers in terms of class, and their similarity in terms of gender, while making clear the simultaneous allure and repulsion the gems represent to those who cannot afford to possess them.[99]

When Michie falls for a dashing gentleman customer's repeated gifts of the substantial change from his transactions at her counter – a subterfuge for gem theft – Michie is forced to pay an indemnity from her wages for the loss, and confront the vulnerability of her position as a low-ranking employee and a romantically inexperienced young woman.[100] First, however, she bursts into frustrated tears at her counter at the

[99] "The wide, thick display case always retained the particular chill of glass. Inside that glass clear as water, various small gems were enrobed in soft blue velvet. / The girls lined up one by one on the warm-looking velvet, and cast flirtatious glances toward customers across the glass. / Their glances were mercurial, like a cat's. If a customer would move one step to the left -- she shifted her polyhedral gaze, and sparkled from another facet. / The diamond, intelligent and forever smiling, yet somehow cold; the alexandrite, inexpensive, but captivating with her touch of crumbling decadence; the girlish red-banded agate, innocent-looking, yet well aware of women's feminine wiles; the amethyst, casting a single modest glance from eyes downcast in melancholy and tranquility; the pearl, with her tremendous pride as she affects insouciance and tidiness – among them, only the unsophisticated ruby, like a maid on the outskirts of the city, pitched her brazen, suggestive coquetry straight to the customers. / But, all of them, were one to call them human women, were just a group of pitiful, powerless women -- wasteful, indolent, and seeming self-important, with not a single connection to the production side of things. Without being picked up and caressed by the fingers, arms and breasts of curious, wealthy humans, their existence was completely meaningless and laughable." 「幅広く厚い陳列台は、いつも硝子特有の冷たさを保っていた。さまざまな小粒の宝石類が、水のように澄んだその硝子の中に、柔かい青ビロードに包まれていた。／彼女等は、温かそうなビロードの中に一粒ずつ離れ離れに並んで、硝子越しに客の方へ流し目を送った。／それは、猫のように変りやすい目であった。客が、一と足左へ動くと—彼女は、ヒラと多面体の視線を動かして、他の面を光らした。／理知的で、いつも笑っているけれど、どこか冷たい、ダイヤモンド、安価なしかし、崩れかかった頽廃味で人を惹くアレキサンドリヤ、何食わぬ顔をしながら、女一と通りの**しな**はちゃんと心得ている、娘々した紅縞瑪瑙、憂鬱と沈着の俯し目の中でちらと控え目な一条の視線を投げて来る紫水晶、無関心と清楚を装いながら、恐るべき誇を持っている真珠、その中で、垢抜けのしないルビーだけは、場末の女給のように、臆面もない露骨な媚態を正面から客の方へ投げかけた。／しかし、いずれも、彼女らは、人間の女でいうならば、生産面には何の関係もない、消費的で怠惰で高慢ちきな一群の憐れむべき無力な女たちであった。金をもっている好奇な人間どもの、胸や、指さきに取上げられて愛撫されることなしには、その存在は全く無意義で、滑稽であった。」See Hirabayashi, "Joten'in no fuhei" in *HTZ*: 1, 363.

[100] During the gentleman's first visit, he points to a yellow topaz and boldly asks Michie, "Do you know what 'topaz' means in the language of gems?" (「貴女は、その黄玉がもっている宝石言葉の意味を御存じ？」) To her negative reply, he answers, "It's lasciviousness, hidden passion, temptation," (「淫蕩、秘めたる情熱、誘惑です」) only to repeat that refrain while holding Michie's hand in his, and looking into her eyes. He continues intimately, "…Don't you like 'topaz'?" (「…… あなたはトッパーズはお嫌いですか」). In this vein, the gentleman rattles Michie with his flirtatious manner such that on his second

recognition that a seventy-five yen topaz had been stolen from her counter. Her co-worker and department manager rush over to soothe her, and explain how she can handle the situation without needing to worry she would lose her job.

> "Hey, crying won't get you anywhere, you know. Here you're allowed up to three thefts as long as you pay a third in reparations. And that's spread out over three months, too. Write a letter of explanation, go to the section manager's office tomorrow, and that's it. Come on, it's really not worth crying like that."
> "Thank you, thank you."
> With her fresh face washed by salty tears, Michie smiled faintly.
> "There, now you go on home for today. I'll take care of the rest."
> "All right, thank you."[101]

Having made it past this incident thanks to the support of her co-workers, and having repaid the fine to her employer for the stolen topaz, Michie decides to fight back against the humiliation of her poverty, of which she had become acutely aware since the theft. She formulates a plan to counteract both her manipulation by the thief's sexist, classist scheme and her economic exploitation as an underpaid shopgirl subject to burdensome penalties for any loss of merchandise during her shift. She decides to steal and pawn one of the gems from her own shop counter herself, and to pass it off as another theft.[102] On the day she executes this plan, she is racked with nervousness that she will be caught, or that the diamond she has decided to steal will somehow fall from its hiding place in the coin purse in her inner pocket and expose her as a liar. One of her co-workers, Ishida Kiku from the notions department, notices that Michie doesn't look

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visit to her counter, after having gifted her the five yen change from his first purchase there, Michie lets her guard down enough not to notice his stealing a very expensive topaz. Ibid., 365.

[101] 「『ね、泣いたってしょうがないじゃないの。ここじゃ、万引は三回までは三分の一弁償すればいいの。それも三月に割ってよ。始末書を出して明日課長さんのお室へ行って来れば、それですんじゃうわ。ねえ、そんなに泣くもんじゃないわよ。』／『ありがと、ありがと』／道江は、塩っぽい涙で洗ったあとのすがすがしい顔で、微に笑った。／『ねえ、もうお帰りなさいよ、きょうは。あとはよくしといてあげるわ』／『ええありがとう』」 Ibid., 367-368.

[102] She hazards that as long as she pays the indemnity money she would then owe her employer, and blames the loss on a shoplifter, she can keep her job and the gem's worth in cash from the pawnshop.

quite well, but when Michie calls out to her to announce she has had another theft, Kiku believes her story and takes pity on her. Other female co-workers gather around and offer sympathetic advice to Michie, who finds herself overwhelmed by a jumble of emotions in response to their collective kindness toward her. In a comic scene, Michie struggles to make it through the moment without giving herself away, wanting to indulge in her co-workers' sympathy while also reluctant to divulge her true plan.

> Michie spoke to Kiku while incessantly stooping and then standing.
> "I've had another theft!"
> Michie felt that her words sounded totally unnatural and that her expression didn't match them. So, flustered, she said, rushing to Kiku,
> "I'm in trouble, big trouble…"
> But that movement as well seemed too forced.
> At some point, shopgirls from three or four nearby counters gathered around. On the counter she put the price tags with strings attached to them, and explained that the diamond that had been attached to this one was gone.
> On the price tag was printed 'Sixty yen.'
> "This is your second, right. Now there's only chance left."
> One of them spoke defiantly while looking in the direction of the section manager doing the rounds.
> "But now your bonus for this period is zero, you realize," another one said.
> Surrounded in the middle of them, Michie lost any idea of what kind of expression she should wear. A sensation of her muscles in her cheeks relaxing and her weariness leaving her didn't easily guide her toward a tearful expression or a pained expression.
> "What will I do, what will I do, what will I do?" she said, to cover up for it.
> She disguised her face, which, against her will, no matter what she did, looked as if she was about to laugh.
> Everyone put her hands on Michie's shoulder, thinking she might start crying again. The young women's plump hands resting on the flesh of her shoulder felt indescribably comforting and heavy.
> She started to feel as if she could truly cry.
> "Cry, cry," Michie ordered herself. At which her eyes became strangely dry.[103]

[103] 「『私、また万引されちまったわ』／道江は、その言葉が、ひどく不自然で、表情が判っていない様に思われた。そして、うろたえて、／『困る、困るゥ』／といって、重く菊になだれかかった。が、その動作もまたあまりにわざとらしく思われた。／いつの間にか、近くの売場の女店員が三四人集っていた。彼女は、台の上の糸のついた正札を出して、これのついていたダイヤ

Indeed, the fellow working class shopgirls have shown to be reliable allies to Michie who would trust and defend her against their bosses or interlopers who would steal from her counter, even as Michie finds herself uneasy with deceiving them for her individual plan of revenge against her poverty – even if her ability to rely on their trust formed a crucial component of her plan's success. In this attempt to salvage her pride, Michie intended to use the money from the gem to surround herself with some bourgeois luxuries like those her store's customers swarm to purchase, but finds that once she has the money she forgets what those things were she had intended to buy.[104] She cannot escape the irony that even as she proves she can steal a gem like the thief, force her employer to incur a loss, and (at least attempt to) use the gem's worth in money for luxury purchases, she cannot afford to use the gem as the gentleman or a bourgeois woman would – as a piece of jewelry to enhance her appearance. She soon realizes the worthlessness of a sense of self-worth founded on material possessions, in a re-affirmation of her working class consciousness.

The story closes with Michie returning to a solitary mode of self-affirmation, now that her co-workers have helped bolster her against the emotional and financial stresses of

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がなくなってしまったと説明した。／正札には、六十円と印刷してあった。／『これで二度ね。今、一度だけのこっているわ』／一人は巡回している課長の方を見ながら反抗的にいった。／『だけど、もう貴女の今期のボーナスは零よ』／一人が、いった。／人にかこまれた真ん中で、道江は一体どんな表情をしていたらいいかに迷った。頬の筋肉がたるんで疲労し切ったような感覚が、彼女を、泣きそうな表情にも、苦しそうな表情にもたやすく導いて行かなかった。／『どうしよう、どうしよう、どうしよう』／彼女は、誤摩化すためにいって、どうかすると、彼女の意志に反して、笑い出しそうな自分の顔を掩った。／皆は、また道江が泣き出すのかと思って肩に手をかけた。若い女の厚ぽったい手を彼女は、肩の肉の上で、何ともいえず快く、重く、感じた。／『泣け、泣け』／道江は自分に命令した。そうなると妙に目の中は乾いた。」See Hirabayashi, "Joten'in no fuhei" in *HTZ*: 1, 370.

[104] "It sold for forty yen. She put aside two ten-yen notes, and thought about what she would buy with the remaining twenty yen. But for whatever reason, the names she had piled up of all of the things she wanted to buy had disappeared like vapor. Only a heavy anguish settled in her heart like lead." 「四十円でそれは売れた。十円紙幣二枚を別にしておいて、残りの二十円で何か買おうと考えた。しかし、どうしたことか、堆積していた買いたいものの名前は、蒸気のように消えてしまった。ただ一つ、鉛のような重苦しい心痛が心の中に陣どった。」Ibid.

the gentleman shoplifter's thefts and the identity crisis they spurred in her. Michie decides to try to resolve her remaining frustrations in the wake of her ultimately unsatisfying vengeful gem theft by using her remaining money to buy herself books from which to learn new things.[105] After all, Michie affirms her contempt for bourgeois consumerism and joins it with a newfound commitment to self-improvement. Michie's mother tells her that the noise from an upstairs apartment is likely a meeting of female union members from a textile factory, organizing for a strike. The final image of "The Shopgirl's Lament" is Michie, inspired by these fellow working class women taking action for their rights in the workplace. Even if her inexperience with love continues to overwhelm her at times, Michie seems able in this moment to imagine an alternate future path of resistance against the oppression of poverty in this image of factory workers organizing for better treatment from their employers.

> "Of course there are even women with the bravery to go on strike. …… I mean, it's not for everyone, but ……," Michie said, overcome by emotion.
> Then she flopped down on the floor from her position sitting up. She fixed her dark pupils on the paper-patched ceiling.[106]

While Hayashi and Hirabayashi connected with one another as friends and fellow writers, writing about the experiences of working class women in their literature and sharing in the struggle to survive on their own in Tokyo, the two diverged in their

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[105] "When she returned home and stepped up into the room, an indescribable pain and a resistance to her low wages boiled up within her. She cried. / There's no way today's kind of behavior is going to help remedy my complaint. / That's it, buy books with the money and read, Michie instructed herself. / What books, she asked herself in reply. / All kinds, books to improve yourself, she answered vaguely." 「家へ戻って床へ入ると、何ともいえない苦しさと、自分の廉い給料に対する反抗心とが湧き上った。彼女は泣いた。／今日のような行動も、決して、自分の不平を救ってくれはしなかった。／そうだ、この金で本を買って読もう。道江は自分に教えた。／何の本を、と自分が反問した。／色々な、自分が向上するための本を。／と、曖昧に答えた。」 Ibid., 371-372.

[106] 「『女でも、やっぱり、ストライキなぞやる勇気のある人がいるんだねえ。…… だけど、そりゃきまってるけれど……』／道江は感慨深くいった。／そしてまた、起きていた上半身を、ごろりと横たえた。彼女は節穴へ紙を貼った天井をしげしげと、黒い瞳で見つめていた。」 Ibid., 372.

perspectives on the roles love and political commitments played in their lives. These two points of divergence may provide some further explanation for the contrasting perspectives from which Hayashi and Hirabayashi portray relationships between women in their writing. In a roundtable discussion with Setouchi Harumi but a few years before Hirabayashi's death, Hirabayashi claimed that love and literature occupied the same place in her heart, such that when she was in love she had no need to write literature.[107] Hayashi seems to have been able to separate life and literature, writing prolifically when she was in love.[108] Mori Eiichi and Nakayama Kazuko have pointed out how Hayashi and Hirabayashi's different attitudes toward political affiliation can be seen distilled in the juxtaposition of Hirabayashi's eager involvement with the socialist women writers' group Social Literature Alliance and Hayashi's later distancing of herself from association with the group, despite having initially joined as a founding member.[109] Hirabayashi's mission statement for that group wields the language of a socialist, feminist revolutionary manifesto to declare the group's intent to take action to foster a radically new women's culture.[110] Over time, Hayashi positioned herself as a writer totally uninterested in the

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[107] See Setouchi Harumi, *Joryū sakka wa kataru*, 70-71. 「まあ大体ね、小説とね、恋愛とは両立しません。…恋愛と小説とはね、心の中の同じ場所にありますから。…ですから恋愛しているときには小説は必要ありません。と私は思います。」Related to Hirabayashi's view of writing/literature as somehow equivalent to (romantic) love, it has been argued that Hirabayashi's true love was not any one man, but literature itself. See Abe, *Hirabayashi Taiko: Hana ni mi o*, 262.

[108] See Takayama, 368.

[109] See Mori, 37-39; and Nakayama, 71-72. Mori cites the publication of Hirabayashi's essay "Sehyō to kanojo – Hayashi Fumiko no tame ni" in 1929 as marking the moment when Hayashi and Hirabayashi's divergent (political) positions became clear. Even as early as July of 1927, though, in her essay "Joryū sakka gettan," Hirabayashi called upon Hayashi to recognize societal class struggle as the source of her frustrations in life, as opposed to only viewing life through a lens of gender relations or some such other discrete viewpoint. In this essay Hirabayashi also makes clear that she respects Hayashi as a writer and considers her a friend. See Hirabayashi, "Joryū sakka gettan," in *HTZ*: 10, 312.

[110] 「『青鞜』は主に、感情を主とした反逆、自由の叫喚に過ぎなかったが、私達の叫ぶところのものは、「意志」と「行動」の文芸である。…私達の打建てるものは、「女性」なる被支配階級の新文化である。私達は家を出るノラではなくって、ヘルマーを放逐するノラではなくってはならない。」As quoted in Nakayama, 71. In contrast to this statement of Hirabayashi's on behalf of the group of women writers she organized, Hayashi later looked back at her involvement with the group and

political, despite her early involvement on the periphery of socialist groups (not to mention her wartime involvement with "productivity literature").

Conclusion

Living together and sharing a kimono of their own out of material necessity, Hayashi and Hirabayashi created living and writing conditions within which they could survive and thrive, both personally and professionally. It was not the bourgeois ideal of a solitary room of one's own espoused by Woolf, but rather a deliberately non-private, female social space within which Hayashi and Hirabayashi shared resources and mutually supported one another as they worked to become writers.[111] In this chapter, I have begun to consider how this particular space for writing enabled Hirabayashi Taiko and Hayashi Fumiko's early careers as writers, and how each of them mobilized female friendships and working relationships in their literature to address the overlapping (and often conflicting) concerns of class and gender.

It is instructive here to consider the postwar woman writer Setouchi Harumi's (瀬戸内晴美) essay, "Requirements for Becoming a Woman Writer" ("Joryū sakka ni naru jōken"), which was originally published in September 1962 in a special issue of the journal of Japanese literary criticism *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* entitled *The*

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made the following claim:「私のような者には肌あいの慣れない婦人団体」, although what ultimately became of the group is unclear. See Nakayama, 72.

[111] Here we can look to Hirabayashi's comment, upon winning the "Women's Literature Prize" ("Joryū Bungaku Shō") in 1968, as it may characterize her attitude toward the important motivating force of a sociality among writers. She said, "Writers have a child-like heart in them somewhere, and so it's lonely not to hear any applause or cheers. So now, receiving this prize [is gratifying]…" (「作家はどこかに子供のような心を持っているもので、どこかからカッサイや拍手が聞えてこないとさみしいんです。それが今回賞を受けまして……」) . See "Tenbyō: Jushō nishi no yorokobi" in the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, evening edition (April 18, 1968) 9.

Secrets of Contemporary Women Writers (*Gendai joryū sakka no himitsu*).[112] In this brief essay, Setouchi uses irony to lay bare the ludicrous assumptions implicit in the construct of the "woman writer" (*joryū sakka*) as it persisted even in early 1960s Japan. In her introduction to the English translation of Setouchi's essay, Jan Bardsley argues that just as common social practices had arisen to counter-act the new freedoms for women that had been written into Japanese law in postwar Japan, in postwar Japanese literature "increasing opportunities for women to publish motivated a reaction against thinking of writing as a gender neutral occupation and to denigrating what women wrote as not quite 'real' literature. … [G]ender arises as an issue only when women's careers are at stake."[113] Setouchi recognized the problematic pervasiveness of the term *joryū sakka* and its attendant array of assumptions, and in her own writings remained attentive to the contexts in which she addressed and critiqued female writers.[114]

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[112] Setouchi Harumi, Rebecca L. Copeland, trans., "Requirements for Becoming a Woman Writer" in Rebecca L. Copeland, ed., *Woman Critiqued: Translated Essays on Japanese Women's Writing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 61-66. See also Ericson's discussion of Setouchi's essay in Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 29.

[113] See Bardsley's introduction to Setouchi's essay in Copeland, *Woman Critiqued*, 55.

[114] Setouchi's exploration of the association between "woman" and "writer" represents a critical focus which can be seen to reverberate in her literary histories and memoirs discussing Hirabayashi where she repeatedly invokes Hirabayashi's comment deeming her "the last of the women of letters" (*saigo no onna no bunshi* 「最後の女の文士」) (or a similar rewording of that phrase, "the last writer among the women writers" [*joryū sakka no naka de saigo no bunshi* 「女流作家の中で最後の文士」], implying Setouchi was the last woman writer truly committed to a life lived in pursuit of writing literature). See "Hirabayashi Taiko no tsūkai" in Ozaki Mariko, *Setouchi Jakuchō ni kiku Jakuchō bungakushi*, 123; and Setouchi Harumi, "Hirabayashi-san to ohaka" in Teshirogi Haruki, ed., *Hirabayashi Taiko tsuitō bunshū* (Hirabayashi Taiko Kinen Bungakukai, 1973), 229. Setouchi's grateful recognition of this praise from Hirabayashi surely had to do with both her appreciation for Hirabayashi's deliberate wording of Setouchi as a "literary woman" or "woman of letters" (*onna no bunshi*, as opposed to the fraught term "woman writer" [*joryū sakka*]), and her pride at receiving such a comment from as admired and established a writer and elder colleague as Hirabayashi. (Although Setouchi's frequent reference to the phrase seems to indicate she truly valued this praise from Hirabayashi, in her contribution to the 1973 volume of works commemorating Hirabayashi cited above, Setouchi self-deprecatingly claimed to have interpreted the comment as implying that there was something old-fashioned about her.) Setouchi's emphasis on the term *bunshi* (man/woman of letters; literary man/woman, writer) in her anecdote(s) can be seen as an act of reclaiming a term primarily used to mark men writers.

Setouchi begins with the hypothesis that the reason why the number of women writers has not grown at the same pace with the number of women in other "professional fields" after the war is that "the requirements for becoming a 'woman writer' are far more stringent than those facing a 'writer.'"[115] These requirements, which she proceeds to list and describe, are to: "Be a Woman," "Be Manly," "Be Homely," "Be Talented," "Be Egotistical," "Be Jealous," "Have What It Takes to Be a Bad Wife," "Have the Nerve to Strip," and "Have Property." In that final requirement, "Have Property," Setouchi invokes Virginia Woolf's argument in "A Room of One's Own" that a woman needs a private room of her own, in addition to the material resources to make use of such a room freely, in order to write (and thus become a woman writer). Setouchi qualifies Woolf's argument by claiming that many women fear the solitude they necessarily face within such a room, and so they will not succeed in becoming women writers. Yet as I have proposed with regard to Hirabayashi and Hayashi, we have good reason to suspect that this thesis is not universally valid. Neither a fear of solitude nor the want of a completely private room of one's own deterred Hirabayashi and Hayashi from becoming successful (women) writers. Rather, they shared the more pressing need, as working-class women, for the freedoms of time and energy to devote to their writing. While they did not have access to individual rooms of their own, by sharing friendship, a room, and even a single kimono, they were able to succeed in establishing themselves as (women) writers.

During that formative period in their careers, the best of what the two could establish for themselves was a space in which they had most basic needs met (although there was their need to share their kimono for a time, so few cashable resources did they have to pawn in moments of extreme need). While both writers did perform the

[115] Setouchi, "Requirements for Becoming a Woman Writer," in Copeland, *Woman Critiqued*, 62.

instrumental work of writing genre fiction at that time, this afforded them some time in their shared room to spend writing "pure" literature -- autobiographical fiction – the "real" writing Setouchi implies can only be produced through a woman writer's encounter with solitude, or solitary work. So the case of Hirabayashi and Hayashi's productive friendship and shared living situation controverts Setouchi's claim not only that true women writers (who write autobiographical, "pure" literature) need access to rooms of their own, but also that "when one must write to eat, one cannot truly be a writer."[116] Although the significance of female friendships to the development of their writing careers and literary works has often gone overlooked in favor of biographical criticism or narratives prioritizing the rehashing of each author's most familiar sensational flaws, in their lives and in their literature, Hirabayashi and Hayashi drew upon female friendship – particularly between members of the working-class – as a source of support for overcoming obstacles to their professional success and their personal happiness.

[116] See Copeland, *Woman Critiqued*, 65.

Chapter Two: "Narrating the Self, Crafting Literary Personae: Literary Autobiographies by Hirabayashi Taiko and Sata Ineko"

Hirabayashi Taiko and Sata Ineko (1904-1998) related to each other as professional colleagues in the literary establishment throughout their careers. Of the three literary relationships of Hirabayashi's I trace in this dissertation, theirs is the least intimate. Yet their professional connections through mutual critiques and participation in organizations like the Women Writers' Association (Joryū Bungakusha Kai 女流文学者会) was quite long-lived and well-known. Their mutual status as writers who braved poverty to launch their careers as young, female members of the proletarian literary movement formed their most salient link to each other in the eyes of literary critics and historians. The two have often been grouped together by critics on the basis of their similar trajectories as women writers who overcame poverty, navigated tumultuous relationships with leftist men, and wrote about their lives in fiction.

In this chapter I explore autobiographical novels and memoirs written by Hirabayashi and Sata in the postwar era, in which they retrospectively narrate their lives in the prewar, wartime, and in the case of Hirabayashi, the early postwar eras. Specifically, I examine Sata's *My Tokyo Map* (*Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, 1949) and Hirabayashi's *Desert Bloom* (*Sabaku no hana*, 1957). These works mark a shift from their prewar autobiographical short stories in the vein of proletarian literature. A desire to reconcile personal and professional identities fueled both Hirabayashi's and Sata's literary activity, although each writer acted on this desire in different ways. I consider how each writer crafted an autobiographical protagonist with a narrative spanning from

childhood to a moment at middle-age, depicting that protagonist's experiences as she matures as an individual, as a left-wing intellectual, and as a writer.

For Sata's autobiographical protagonist (whom I will call) Ineko, the most challenging elements of this triple maturation process were to be found at the point where her desire to express her left-wing political beliefs through the work of writing conflicted with the expectations placed upon her as an individual – her obligations as a married woman in prewar and wartime Japan to maintain her household and eschew involvement in organizations or work outside of the home. Hirabayashi's autobiographical protagonist, (whom I will call) Taiko, struggled the most not with her left-wing political beliefs or her identity as an activist, but with the unanticipated incompatibility of her occupation as a writer and her identity as a married woman in a relationship with her fellow left-wing intellectual husband. Taiko comes to this realization in the postwar period, when women had been granted many new freedoms and rights as citizens – a political environment which, combined with Taiko's already unusually powerful role as breadwinner for their household, further exacerbates her husband's feelings of emasculation and the deterioration of their relationship. These works provide rich material for examining the multiple perspectives on male-female relationships and working women (not to mention socialist critiques of capitalist patriarchy) that arise from the contrasts between two literary autobiographies in which writers narrativized early Shōwa women writers' experiences of becoming established writers. Given the long period of time these works both span, we might also read these autobiographical protagonists' narratives as their authors' idealized literary personae, literally written into existence through fictionalized versions of their own most meaningful personal and professional struggles as writers.

Hirabayashi Taiko and Sata Ineko: Professional Links and Personal Similarities

As mentioned above, literary historians have linked Hirabayashi and Sata on the basis of a set of initial similarities.[1] They were both women, born but one year apart, into poor families who had recently experienced a decline in prosperity. They both moved to Tokyo from the provinces and first made their mark as young writers within the proletarian literature movement in the late 1920s. Both also married Communist writers and struggled against patriarchal, traditional gendered divisions of labor in their households while juggling the roles of wife and writer.

Of course, these broad-stroke similarities belie significant differences between the two. For instance, in political terms Sata was a Bolshevik whereas Hirabayashi was an anarchist. Hirabayashi left the proletarian literature movement not long after she had joined it, preferring to work from outside an ideology that would sacrifice the full potential of literature as an art for one narrow political end. She would engage with

[1] See, for example, Iwaya Daishi, *Monogatari joryū bundan shi* (Bungei Shunjū, 1989); Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai, ed., *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007); Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era: Fiction* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984); and Yamamoto Kenkichi, "Kaisetsu" in *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū Vol. 7* (Ushio Shuppansha, 1979). For works of literary criticism which treat Hirabayashi and Sata together, see, for example, Hilaria Gössmann, "Writing As a Means of Liberation: Women Writers' Autobiographical Works in Proletarian Literature" in Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart, eds., *Japanese Biographies: Life Histories, Life Cycles, Life Stages* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992) 99-112; Iwabuchi Hiroko, Kitada Sachie, and Kōra Rumiko hen, *Feminizumu hihyō e no shōtai: kindai josei bungaku o yomu* (Gakugei Shorin, 1995); Iwami Teruyo, *Hirointachi no hyakunen: bungaku, media, shakai ni okeru joseizō no henyō* (Gakugei Shorin, 2008); Madoka Kusakabe, "Sata Ineko and Hirabayashi Taiko: The Café and Jokyū As a Stage for Social Criticism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 2011); and Okano Yukie, *Onnatachi no kioku: "kindai" no kaitai to josei bungaku* (Sōbunsha Shuppan, 2008). Sata and Hirabayashi have been anthologized together in such literary collections as follows: *Hirabayashi Taiko, Sata Ineko, Amino Kiku, Tsuboi Sakae shū* (Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū 39, Chikuma Shobō, 1955); *Nihon bungaku zenshū Vol. 26: Sata Ineko, Hirabayashi Taiko* (Shinchōsha, 1967); Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai hen, *Kindai joryū bungaku: Okamoto Kanoko, Hayashi Fumiko, Hirabayashi Taiko, Sata Ineko* (Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho, Yūseidō, 1983); Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden, eds., *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth Century Short Fiction* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991); and Yukiko Tanaka, ed., *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913-1938* (Seattle: The Seal Press, 1987). [NB: *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū*, Hirabayashi's collected works, published in 12 vols. from 1976-79, are hereafter abbreviated as *HTZ*: [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers*.]

political activism in her own individual way throughout her life, selectively supporting those politicians, political organizations, and movements she found worthwhile in accordance with her personal views. Sata, on the other hand, repeatedly attempted to participate in political work from within organizational structures such as the Japan Communist Party and the Women's Democratic Club (Fujin Minshu Kurabu 婦人民主クラブ). Indeed, her interest in institutional validation reverberates with a concern over reconciling her wartime political actions in her postwar writings.

In one curious parallel between their life experiences, Sata and Hirabayashi both had traumatic marriages with men named Kobori that ended in divorce. In Sata's case, she attempted suicide multiple times in despair over the sudden deterioration of her relationship with her first husband, Kobori Kaizō (小堀槐三). Their marriage lasted but two years.[2] Hirabayashi's marriage to Kobori Jinji lasted much longer, from 1927 to 1955. She experienced a profound shock upon discovering that he had deceived her for years, having taken their maid as a lover and fathered a child with her. Rather than attempt to take her own life, Hirabayashi's reaction was to call upon one of her contacts at a newspaper, and expose Kobori's betrayal for circulation in the media. In this way, Hirabayashi claimed she had intended to "impose a social penalty upon [her] husband"[3] for his infidelity. She would also write several pieces about her betrayal by Kobori, her

[2] Sata married Kobori in April 1924. The two were introduced by her superior at Maruzen. In September 1926 her name and the name of the child they had together were removed from Kobori's family register, although they had not lived together since before her child was born in June 1926. See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu," in *Sata Ineko zenshū Vol. 18: Essei (Sengo II)*, (Kōdansha, 1979) 498-499. [NB: *Sata Ineko zenshū, 18 vols.,* Sata's collected works published from 1977-1979, are hereafter abbreviated as *SIZ*: [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers*.]

[3] 「『社会的制裁を夫に与えるためだ』」 See Ozaki Mariko, *Setouchi Jakuchō ni kiku Jakuchō bungakushi* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2009) 117-118. Setouchi Jakuchō (瀬戸内寂聴) also describes Hirabayashi's response to Kobori's confession of infidelity as part of a vignette about her acquaintance with Hirabayashi in the postwar. See Setouchi Jakuchō, Tadanori Yokoo, ill., *Kien Mandara* (Nihon Keizai Shinbun Shuppansha, 2008) 248-250.

intent to win him back, and her eventual decision to divorce him in 1955.[4] The details of Kobori's affair garnered significant media attention, even after Hirabayashi herself first courted such press.[5]

As for the professional relationship between Hirabayashi and Sata, as early as the late 1920s Hirabayashi addressed Sata by name in her critical writings, although at this point the two were not personally acquainted with each other beyond the realm of print. Sata claimed Hirabayashi had attacked her as a Bolshevik writer whose participation in the production of proletarian literature was marred by a lack of direct experience of proletarian life.[6] In this sense, Hirabayashi's critique of Sata had much in common with her critique of Sata's friend, the fellow Bolshevik Miyamoto Yuriko, whom Hirabayashi accused of having misplaced motivations as a petit bourgeois writer whose brief experience of life in the Soviet Union led her to become active in the Japanese proletarian literature movement.

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[4] Abe Namiko lists these articles in her chronology and bibliographical catalogue of Hirabayashi and her works. See "Nenpu" in Abe Namiko, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Nichigai Asoshieetsu, 1985), 27-28, 92-100. Among the articles she mentions are a conversation between Hirabayashi and Kobori published in the evening edition of the *Asahi Shinbun* on February 22, 1954 (the day after Kobori confessed his infidelity), in which Hirabayashi famously declared, "as a novelist, that I didn't recognize this truth … [makes me] want to quit writing" (「『小説家ともあろうものが、この事実を知らなかった』とは、『筆を折りたい』」) and Kobori claimed, "I just wanted a woman I didn't have to be dependent upon" (「『ぼくはただぼくの自由になる女がほしかったのだ』」). Abe also lists the following (incomplete) selection of articles by Hirabayashi on her husband's affair: Hirabayashi Taiko, "Shuki: Ima ichido seikatsu no tatenaoshi," *Mainichi Shinbun* (February 24, 1954) 4; Hirabayashi Taiko, "Fūfu no aijō," *Asahi Shinbun* (Evening edition, February 24, 1954) 2; Hirabayashi Taiko, "Watashi wa wakarenai: rikon banashi – sakka Hirabayashi-san no baai," *Sandee Asahi* (March 7, 1954) 14; Hirabayashi Taiko, "Kobori wa kaettekuru," *Shūkan Asahi* (March 7, 1954) 74-75. On March 3rd, 1954, Hirabayashi reportedly even had a *Mainichi Shinbun* reporter accompany her on a visit to the home of her former maid and her child, to ask her to give up Kobori so he would return to her. The next year, after spending almost a year apart from Kobori while he was stationed in Berlin for work, Hirabayashi declared her intent to divorce him, publishing "Yappari watashi wa wakareru" in *Sandee Asahi* (August 7, 1955). They filed their official divorce papers on August 18, 1955.

[5] The topic became such a media draw that Hirabayashi successfully demanded a published apology from a publication that ran a fabricated story about her relationship with Kobori (a dialogue entitled, "Watashi wa otto o torimodoshite miseru" in *Shufu to Seikatsu* Vol. 9 No. 4).

[6] See Sata Ineko, "Hirabayashi Taiko ron" in *SIZ*: 16, 40-42 (originally published in 1931). Hirabayashi briefly mentioned Sata (when she was still Kubokawa Ineko) in the article "Bungei hōmen ni okeru fujin saikin no katsudō (3)" Tokyo *Asahi Shinbun* (Morning edition, August 27, 1929) 5.

Sata claims to have been asked by an editor to respond to Hirabayashi's criticism, by way of comment mainly on Hirabayashi "the person" (「主として人物について」).[7] In a brief essay entitled "On Hirabayashi Taiko" ("Hirabayashi Taiko ron," September 1931), Sata says that she has not yet met Hirabayashi in person, but only knows her from her writings. While the two had both contributed to some of the same literary journals, such as Hasegawa Shigure's *Women's Arts* (*Nyonin Geijutsu* 『女人芸術』), they did not meet until some time afterward.[8] In the years following 1930, when Sata befriended Miyamoto Yuriko, her criticism in dialogue with Hirabayashi expanded to include defenses of Miyamoto against Hirabayashi's critiques.[9]

In a 1951 roundtable discussion with fellow women writers Yoshiya Nobuko, Hayashi Fumiko, and Sata Ineko, Hirabayashi discussed the era in which they had all entered the literary establishment. All of these women were remarkably close in age, and had embarked upon literary careers at roughly the same time. Yet Sata specifically comments that it was not until quite recently that she came into frequent contact with Hirabayashi.[10]

To return to Sata's "On Hirabayashi Taiko," while she applauds Hirabayashi's audacity in such works as "The Night Wind," ("Yokaze," 1928) and affirms Hirabayashi's potential as an author of proletarian literature, she condemns Hirabayashi's critiques of the left, including herself and Miyamoto Yuriko. Sata rejects her critique of

[7] See Sata, "Hirabayashi Taiko ron."
[8] Sata claimed that she was not part of the core group of *Women's Arts* in an interview with critic Odagiri Hideo (小田切秀雄). See "Sata Ineko: 'Hetekita michi'" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 193.
[9] See, for example, Sata Ineko, "Chūjō Yuriko no 'amasa' ni tsuite," in *SIZ*: 16, 47-48 (originally published in 1932).
[10] See "Joryū sakka zadankai" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 74-75.

Miyamoto as misguided in its interest in Miyamoto's motivations as a writer of proletarian literature, and claims that Hirabayashi unjustly characterizes herself (that is, Sata) as lacking direct experience from which to draw material for her proletarian literature. Actually, they both used their own experiences as material for their writings, Sata argued.

In an article on the nature of the Women Writers' Association from 1947, Hirabayashi called out Sata along with Tsuboi Sakae for not having attended the organization's first general meeting postwar, despite being members of the organization.[11] Hirabayashi, who was then chair of the organization, had missed the meeting herself due to illness, yet upon being informed of Sata's absence, she experienced confusion and aggravation. She penned her dissatisfaction with their absences, proclaiming her suspicion that they had faced political pressure from the New Japanese Literature Association (Shin Nihon Bungaku Kai 新日本文学会), a thinly-veiled wing of the Communist party, not to attend. She scorned the New Japanese Literature Association for policing writers and their associations with others, including the possibility that they might have cautioned Sata and Tsuboi against socializing with writers who had supported the war with their writing (such as Yoshiya Nobuko and Hayashi Fumiko) or sympathized with the war effort during the wartime years when the Women Writers' Association was supported by organizations that also supported war. She reproached Sata and Tsuboi in this article, published in the *Tōkyō Shinbun*, calling upon them to return to the fold of the Women Writers' Association, which had no stated political agenda but to bring together women writers, apart from their personal politics.

[11] See "Joryū Bungakusha Kai no seikaku" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 60-61.

Aside from their exchanges in critical writing, Hirabayashi and Sata both participated together in an assortment of roundtable discussions, social outings, and award committee deliberations, especially after the war through the Women Writers' Association.[12] The Hirabayashi Taiko Collection (Hirabayashi Taiko Bunko 平林たい子文庫), an archive of materials posthumously donated by Hirabayashi's family to the Museum of Modern Japanese Literature (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan 日本近代文学館) in Tokyo, contains material having to do with Sata, such as postcards from Sata congratulating Hirabayashi on her publications.[13] We also know that Hirabayashi kept

[12] See, for example, two roundtable discussions in which they both participated: "Joryū sakka zadankai" (from June 20, 1951) and "Zadankai: joryū sakka," (from February 9, 1960, originally published in the May 1960 issue of *Gunzō*), both in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: kiroku*.

[13] By contrast, Sata's own collection at the Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, the Sata Ineko Bunko, has a published index of over 150 pages long, and contains a tremendous number of items related to her long writing career. See Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, ed., *Sata Ineko Bunko Mokuroku* (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, 2002). Hirabayashi's collection has no such published index, and access to the description of items in the collection requires in-person inquiry at the museum's special collections desk. Despite the disparity between Hirabayashi and Sata's archival presence in the Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, it is curious to note that while there exist both a Hirabayashi Taiko Memorial Hall (Hirabayashi Taiko Kinenkan 平林たい子記念館) and a literary monument commemorating Hirabayashi in her hometown of Suwa in Nagano Prefecture – in addition to her personal library, accessible at the local public library – no such halls or museums yet commemorate Sata. See http://www.city.suwa.lg.jp/www/info/detail.jsp?id=659 for details on these sites commemorating Hirabayashi. As far as I have found there exist but a literary monument in Aioi, Hyōgo (The Sata Ineko Literary Monument [Sata Ineko Bungakuhi 佐多稲子文学碑]), and a stone monument in Nagasaki, Sata's birthplace. In contrast, Hayashi Fumiko and Miyamoto Yuriko (and, notably, Tsuboi Sakae) all have at least one dedicated exhibit in their name in a museum, if not their own literary museums or commemorative halls. (These include the Hayashi Fumiko Kinenkan in Shinjuku, Tokyo, among many other commemorative spaces dedicated to Hayashi's life and literature; a literary monument and exhibit dedicated to Miyamoto Yuriko in the Kōriyama Museum of Literature [Kōriyama Bungaku no Mori Shiryōkan] in her home prefecture of Fukushima; and the Tsuboi Sakae Memorial Museum [Tsuboi Sakae Bungakukan] on Shōdoshima in Kagawa Prefecture.) This discrepancy may have to do with Sata's comparatively recent death, in 1998, or it may in fact explain why the collection of Sata's materials at the Nihon Kindai Bungakukan is so large, comprising one of the few such collections with a published index out of a total of over 140 collections. Note that the Nihon Kindai Bungakukan did recently hold a one-time exhibit dedicated to Sata in commemoration of the 15th anniversary of her death, from August 20 to September 21, 2013. See the following website for details of the exhibit: http://www.bungakukan.or.jp/cat-exhibition/cat-exh_past/2680/ .

several books by Sata in her personal library of approximately 4,000 volumes, which her family donated to the public library of her hometown in Suwa, Nagano.[14]

Sata Ineko's Life and Literature

One need only attempt to track the many names held by the writer now known as Sata Ineko throughout her life to sense her tumultuous upbringing and her rocky path on the way to defining herself as a writer.[15] Born in Nagasaki in 1904 to a young, unmarried mother and father who were still students, Ine (イネ, as she was named at birth) was listed as an illegitimate child in the family register of her father's great-aunt, Tanaka Masa (田中マサ).[16] Ine's mother, Takayanagi Yuki (高柳ユキ), and father, Tajima Masafumi (田島正文), continued to take care of her despite this nominal arrangement. They married in 1906, and the following year listed Ine as an adopted daughter in their family register; her name was now Tajima Ine (田島イネ). A variety of family members helped raise the young Ine while her mother suffered from tuberculosis and after she died, when Ine was only seven years old. She began to attend elementary school in Nagasaki in 1911, and in 1915 transferred to a school in Tokyo when her father moved there with her and her younger brother. In Tokyo, they moved in with her father's uncle, Sata Hidemi (佐田秀実), an aspiring novelist. Ine then became an adopted child of Sata Hidemi's on

[14] The Hirabayashi Taiko Kinen Bunko (平林たい子記念文庫), on the second floor of the Suwa-shi Toshokan (諏訪市図書館) in Nagano is open to the public.

[15] During these predominantly biographical paragraphs which follow, I refer to Sata Ineko by the names "Ine" and "Ineko," corresponding to the moments before and after 1918, when she first took a pen name including the personal name she would use for years to come: "Ineko." I use Sata's given and chosen personal names in these paragraphs to indicate the evolution of her name as it demonstrates the instability of her circumstances as a young woman on the way to becoming a writer. Apart from this biographical section, I refer to Sata Ineko as "Sata" exclusively, in keeping with the scholarly practice of addressing subjects by their family names (despite the Japanese tendency to address authors – especially well known authors – familiarly by using their personal names [which are often pen names]).

[16] Tanaka Masa's maiden name was Yamamoto (山本).

the uncle's family register. She had to withdraw from her new elementary school in Tokyo almost immediately, in the middle of fifth grade, due to financial difficulties caused by her father's loss of employment. At this point, aged 11, Ine was sent to work at a caramel factory – an experience that would inform her first work of fiction, "From the Caramel Factory" ("Kyarameru kōjō kara" 「キャラメル工場から」), published in 1928 when she was 24 years old.[17] This was the first of many service jobs (including work as a maid, a waitress, a laborer, and a salesclerk) that Ine took up from the late 1910s to the mid 1920s.

The uncle her family had gone to stay with died the year after they arrived in Tokyo, at which point her father took Ine back into his care, moving between Tokyo and Hyōgo Prefecture for work. In 1918, at age 14, she began submitting *tanka* poetry and brief writings to the magazines *Shōjo no Tomo* (『少女の友』) and *Jogaku Sekai* (『女学世界』) under the name Tajima Ineko (田島いね子). Her father, now remarried to Nanri Yotsu (南里ヨツ), stayed in Hyōgo while Ineko moved back to Tokyo at age 16 to work as a maid at a restaurant in Ueno, the Seiryōtei (清凌亭), and as a salesclerk in the Western goods department of Maruzen Bookstore in Nihonbashi. While at the Seiryōtei, Ineko met such writers as Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (芥川龍之介) and Kikuchi Kan (菊池寛). In 1922, he became an associate member (*jundōjin*) of the journal *Literary Report* (*Bungei Tsūhō* 『文芸通報』, later renamed *Poetry and Life* [*Shi to Jinsei* 『詩と人生』]), when she submitted a selection of poems there under the pen name Yoshimi (夜

[17] Biographical information about Sata here draws from Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, Kōdansha Bungei Bunko Sutandaado 006 (Kōdansha, 2011), 263-278. See Sata Ineko, "Kyarameru kōjō kara," *SIZ*: 1, 21-31 (originally published in *Puroretaria Geijutsu*, February 1928).

思美). She would not publish again until 1926. In the intervening years, Ineko experienced the Great Kantō Earthquake of September 1923, a subsequent temporary return to her father's home in Hyōgo, and a brief, stormy marriage in 1924 to Keiō University student Kobori Kaizō (小堀槐三). Their troubled union led Ineko to attempt suicide multiple times, once in a double suicide attempt with Kobori which they both survived. She gave birth to her first child, a daughter named Yōko (葉子), in June 1925 at her father's home in Hyōgo, after which she did not return to Kobori.

Back in Tokyo in 1926, Ineko worked as a waitress at the café Kōroku (紅緑) in Hongō Dōzaka (本郷動坂), not far from Tokyo University. There in April 1926 she encountered the writers of the newly published journal *Donkey* (*Roba*, 『驢馬』) – Nakano Shigeharu (中野重治), Hori Tatsuo (堀辰雄), Kubokawa Tsurujirō (窪川鶴次郎), Nishizawa Takaji (西沢隆二), and Miyagi Kikuo (宮木喜久雄) – and soon fell in love with Kubokawa. Ineko then sent Yōko to live with her father and stepmother, who entered Yōko as an adopted child on their family register. Meanwhile, Ineko began living with Kubokawa in July 1926, and in September of that year officially divorced Kobori. In March 1927 she first published poetry in *Donkey* under the name Tajima Ineko, encouraged by the journal's writers, Nakano in particular. In February 1928 she published her first story as Kubokawa Ineko (窪川いね子): the aforementioned "From the Caramel Factory," which ran in the journal *Proletarian Art* (*Puroretaria Geijutsu* 『プロレタリア芸術』). 1928 also marked Ineko's introduction to political involvement with Bolshevik activists and intellectuals, fostered by her acquaintance with Kubokawa and under the influence of the coterie members of *Donkey*. In April of the

same year she joined the Japan Proletarian Artists' Federation (known by its Esperanto name NAPF [ナップ] or the Nippona Artista Proleta Federacio [Zen Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei 全日本無産者芸術連盟]), and in 1929 became affiliated with the Japan Proletarian Writers' Alliance (Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei [日本プロレタリア作家同盟], also known by the abbreviation NALP [ナルプ]). Her name officially became Kubokawa Ine (窪川イネ) in May 1929 when she was entered into Kubokawa Tsurujirō's family register as his wife. In the late 1920s, Ineko gradually published more and more works in literary journals including *Donkey*, *Bungei Shunjū* (『文藝春秋』) and the NAPF organ *Battle Flag* (*Senki*『戦旗』).

1930 brought the birth of Ineko's son Kenzō (健造) in February and the publication by Senkisha (戦旗社) of her first collection of short stories, named after "From the Caramel Factory," in April. December 1930 also marked the beginning of her acquaintance with Miyamoto Yuriko, who had just returned from her stay in the Soviet Union with partner Yuasa Yoshiko (湯浅芳子), a scholar of Russian literature. When NAPF was dissolved and replaced by KOPF, the Japan Proletarian Culture Federation (or Federacio de Proletaj Kultur-Organizoj Japanaj [Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Renmei 日本プロレタリア文化連盟]) in 1931, Ineko joined this association as well. Along with Miyamoto, she became a member of the Culture Federation Women's Council (Bunka Renmei Fujin Kyōgikai 文化連盟婦人協議会) of the Japan Proletarian Writers' Alliance Women's Committee (Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei Fujin Iinkai 日本プロレタリア作家同盟婦人委員会) and an editorial committee member for *Working Woman*

(*Hataraku Fujin* 『働く婦人』), the journal published by the Federation. Then in 1932 Ineko gave birth to her third child, Tatsue (達枝), took on the role of head editor of *Working Woman*, and joined the Japan Communist Party. In 1932 as well, in the midst of political organizing on behalf of the Proletarian Culture Federation, Ineko developed a closer relationship with fellow woman writer Tsuboi Sakae (壷井栄). (They had met previously through the proletarian literary movement.) While her husband was imprisoned due to suppression of the Culture Foundation's activities from 1932-33, Ineko continued to edit and write fiction and essays in support of the proletarian literature movement, in addition to raising her two children. She published the first of her many collections of essays (*zuihitsushū*), *The Peony House* (*Botan no aru ie* 『牡丹のある家』) in 1934, at age 30.

In late 1934 and 1935, amidst growing government suppression of leftist political thought and activism, Ineko was repeatedly taken into custody by police and prosecuted for her editorial work at the Communist journal *Working Woman*. She began to struggle with the difficulty of reconciling her work as a writer and her role as a wife around this time.[18] In 1935 she also learned of her husband's infidelity, and began to experience disillusionment with her marriage. Her first full-length novel, *Crimson* (*Kurenai*, 1936), treats her reflections on her relationships as brought to a head by this discovery. Over the next ten years, Ineko would come to lose her trust in Kubokawa Tsurujirō, as in 1938 when she learned he had had an affair with Tamura Toshiko (田村俊子), a woman writer she had come to know in 1936, and whom she considered a friend. From 1940 through

[18]In her essay "Osoroshiki mujun," Sata lays out an early discussion of the contradiction she sees between the roles of wife and writer. See Sata Ineko, "Osoroshiki mujun," *SIZ*: 16, 397-406 (Originally published in *Fujin Kōron* [October 1935]).

1943, Ineko made numerous trips to Japanese military fronts and colonies in China, Korea, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia as a guest of various government-sponsored cultural organizations, sometimes in the company of fellow writers such as Hayashi Fumiko, Tsuboi Sakae, and Masugi Shizue (真杉静枝).[19] Ineko toured these wartime sites and wrote about her visits in essays and fiction throughout the war.[20] These activities would later serve to discredit her among Japanese Communists as a sympathizer with the Japanese imperial war effort, and Ineko would grapple with coming to terms with her actions and her true political commitments for many years after the war. In April 1945 she moved with all three of her children and her stepmother Yotsu – her father had died in 1936 – to the Nakano area of Tokyo, and in May she officially divorced Kubokawa. Only in November 1945, at age 41, did she begin to use the pen name Sata Ineko (佐多稲子) by which she is remembered today, changing her personal name from the *hiragana* いね to the character 稲, and taking the family name of her beloved deceased uncle who had been an early influence exposing her to culture and literature. This name change marks a significant moment in Sata's life. Even much later in career, she would continue to reflect upon her life up to that point in writing, as in the autobiography *Between the Lines of My Chronology* (*Nenpu no gyōkan* 「年譜の行間」, 1983).

From this point onward Sata joined two newly established and powerful postwar organizations which would come to figure significantly in her subsequent activism and

[19] Some of the organizations and companies who sponsored or encouraged Sata's visits to the front include the Chōsen Sōtokufu Tetsudō Kyoku (朝鮮総督府鉄道局), the *Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun* (『満州日日新聞』), the Asahi Shinbunsha-sponsored Jūgo Bungei Hōkōtai (銃後文芸奉公隊), the Daitō-a Sensō Bungei Kōenkai (大東亜戦争文芸講演会), and the publisher Shinchōsha (新潮社). See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu" in Sata, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kodansha, 2011), 268-269.

[20] Sata published writings about these visits in such publications as *Chūō Kōron* (『中央公論』), *Hi no De* (『日の出』), *Fujin Nippon*『婦人日本』, *Bungei* 『文芸』, and *Bungaku Hōkoku*『文学報国』. Ibid. See also Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu," *SIZ*: 18, 510-512.

writing: the Women's Democratic Club and the New Japanese Literature Association. She took part in the preparations for founding the Women's Democratic Club, a political activist group for women, along with fellow proletarian literary movement veteran Miyamoto Yuriko.[21] She would later become a member of its central committee. Yet she faced criticism from some of the organizers of the New Japanese Literature Association for her activities during wartime, such as visits to the front, and so was denied the opportunity to serve as one of its founders. In 1946, Sata officially inherited her deceased uncle's family name, Sata (佐田), and became Sata Ine (佐田イネ), the legal name she held under her death in 1998. This choice of the name Sata for both her pen name and her legal name after her divorce marked a tribute to her late uncle, who had inspired her to pursue writing through his encouragement and his own striving to become a writer. In choosing this name, Ine not only shed her former husband's name but also rejected a return to her father's name, Tajima.[22] She serialized an autobiographical work, "One Woman's Family Register" ("Aru onna no koseki" 「ある女の戸籍」) in the newly created *Women's Democratic Newspaper* (*Fujin Minshu Shinbun* 『婦人民主新聞』) from its inaugural issue in August 1946 through September 1947.[23] Also in 1946, she rejoined the reconvened Japan Communist Party.

[21] For a discussion of the development of the Women's Democratic Club, see Eiko Saeki, "Democracy and Troubled Autonomy: Sectarian Politics and Civil Society in Japan," *Journal of Civil Society* 7:4 (2011) 385-405.
[22] See Ronald Loftus's discussion and partial translation of Sata's autobiographical work *Nenpu no gyōkan* for Sata's commentary on her choice of name, but note that Loftus does not provide a citation for the edition of *Nenpu no gyōkan* he translates. One surmises based on the page numbers he provides as references that he refers to the 250-page version of *Nenpu no gyōkan* published as discrete volume by Chūō Kōronsha in 1983. See Ronald P. Loftus, *Telling Lives: Women's Self-Writing in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 188, 194, and 223-224.
[23] See Sata Ineko, "Aru onna no koseki" in *SIZ*: 4, 155-212. For further discussion of her experience of changing her name, see Sata Ineko, "Toki to hito to watashi no koto (4): senjichū to haisen no ato," *SIZ*: 4, 452-453.

Starting in March 1946, Sata published the first of the autobiographical stories which would come to comprise her collection *My Tokyo Map*: "The Print" ("Hanga" 「版画」), in the journal *Man* (*Ningen* 『人間』). She published the last of these stories, "The Road" ("Michi" 「道」), in *Art* (*Geijutsu* 『芸術』) in May 1948.[24] *My Tokyo Map* (『私の東京地図』) was first published as a discrete volume in March 1949 by the New Japanese Literature Association, an organization Tsuboi Shigeji (壺井繁治), husband of her good friend Tsuboi Sakae, had helped found.[25]

Sata's writing career was as prolific as she was long-lived. Following her literary debut in 1928, she continued to write and publish until 1993, when she was 89 years of age – a span of 65 years that covered the prewar, wartime, and postwar eras.[26] Among her most well known works are her early short stories of proletarian literature, including "From the Caramel Factory," her longer work *Crimson* (*Kurenai* 『くれなゐ』, 1938), her collection *My Tokyo Map*, and her many other collections of essays (*zuihitsu*).[27] She won a variety of prestigious literary awards over time, including the Women's Literature Prize in 1963 for *A Woman's Lodgings* (*Onna no yado* 『女の宿』, 1963), the Noma Literary Prize (Noma Bungei Shō 野間文芸賞) in 1972 for *Shadows of Trees* (*Juei* 『樹影』, 1972), the Kawabata Yasunari Literature Prize (Kawabata Yasunari Bungaku Shō 川端康成文学賞) in 1976 for *Standing in Time* (*Toki ni tatsu* (11)「時に佇つ（その一一）」, 1975), the Mainichi Art Prize (Mainichi Geijutsu Shō 毎日芸術賞) in 1983 for

[24] For publication details of the stories comprising *My Tokyo Map*, see "Shoshutsu shishi / happyō nengetsu," *SIZ*: 4, 457.
[25] See Kawamoto Saburō, "*Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*: Kaisetsu" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kōdansha, 2011) 251-252.
[26] See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kōdansha, 2011).
[27] See Sata Ineko, *Kurenai*, *SIZ*: 2, 7-104 (originally serialized in *Fujin Kōron* from January 1936 to May 1936, and published as a discrete volume by Chūō Kōronsha in September 1938).

Reminders of Summer: For Nakano Shigeharu (*Natsu no shiori: Nakano Shigeharu o okuru* 『夏の栞―中野重治をおくる――』, 1982), and the Yomiuri Prize for Literature (Yomiuri Bungaku Shō 読売文学賞) in 1986 for *The Moon Banquet* (*Tsuki no utage* 『月の宴』).[28] In addition, in 1984 she received the Asahi Prize (*Asahi Shō* 「朝日賞」) for her lifetime contributions to contemporary literary.[29] She also was selected to receive the Japan Art Academy Emperor's Prize (Geijutsuin Onshi Shō 芸術院恩賜賞) in 1973, but declined the award.[30]

Sata Ineko's *My Tokyo Map*: A Search for the Self in a Shifting Urban Site

In 2011 *My Tokyo Map* was included in a recent series of "standards," classic works collected and reissued in paperback by the major publisher Kōdansha.[31] This latest

[28] *Onna no yado* was originally published in *Gunzō* (『群像』) in October 1962, and then published as a discrete volume by Kōdansha in January 1963. *Juei* was originally serialized in *Gunzō* from August 1970 to April 1971; it was first published as a discrete volume by Kōdansha in September 1972. *Toki ni tatsu* was originally serialized in *Bungei* (『文芸』) from January 1975 to November 1975; it was published as a discrete volume by Kawade Shobō Shinsha in April 1976. *Natsu no shiori: Nakano Shigeharu o okuru* was originally serialized from January 1982 to December 1982 in *Shinchō* (『新潮』); it was published as a discrete volume by Shinchōsha in 1983. *Tsuki no utage* was published by Kōdansha in October 1985. See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu" in Sata, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kōdansha, 2011) 273-276.

[29] See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu," in Sata, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kōdansha, 2011) 276.

[30] See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu," in *SIZ*: 18, 534.

[31] The name of the series is Kōdansha Bungei Bunko Sutandaado. See Sata, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kōdansha, 2011). The back of the *obi* (band) wrapped around the paperback volume's dust jacket includes the publisher's copy stating that Kōdansha "Standards" are "a new imprint of works selected which today emit a radiance, expressing the presence of the era as an essence." 「講談社文芸文庫スタンダードは、時代の原基としての存在感をたたえ、今なお輝きを放つ作品を精選した新装版です。」 Yet even while establishing *My Tokyo Map* among this selective collection, the publishers' copy describes it as a "collection of serial autobiographical short stories" (*jidenteki rensaku tanpenshū*). This perpetuates the implicitly discriminatory use of the term "*jidenteki*" to designate autobiographical writing by women, in contrast to the more common designation of autobiographical writing by men as "*shishōsetsu*" (an autobiographical novel, or autobiographical fiction) – the more static genre, and a term arguably conferring higher literary prestige. Although *My Tokyo Map* may not comprise a book-length "novel" given its structure as a collection of stories, to describe the work merely as a collection of autobiographical stories elides their having been collected together under the discrete title *My Tokyo Map*, which would seem to indicate their collective contributions to a united theme. I choose to consider how these stories, taken together as related episodes, comprise one writer's experiential "map" of Tokyo, and present glimpses into a variety of areas of the sole autobiographical writer-narrator's life over time. Ibid., 288 (unnumbered endpaper).

of many reprintings of *My Tokyo Map* attests to its longstanding popularity. Previous reprintings include a 1956 Kadokawa Bunko edition, a 1973 Kōdansha Bunko edition, and a 1989 Kōdansha Bungei Bunko edition.

Although Sata Ineko's literature remains largely unavailable in English translation, one story from *My Tokyo Map* has been translated.[32] I treat *My Tokyo Map* as it constitutes a literary autobiography.[33] I intend to consider the collection of independent pieces that constitute *My Tokyo Map* as a composite literary "map" of Ineko's experiences coming to know Tokyo. I choose to examine *My Tokyo Map* in particular

[32] The story "Banka," (「挽歌」), originally published in *Tenbō* (『展望』) in November 1946, has been translated into English as part of a collection of short stories about Tokyo. See Sata Ineko, "Elegy," in Lawrence Rogers, trans. & ed., *Tokyo Stories: A Literary Stroll* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 101-121. English translations of other works by Sata include: John Bester, trans., "Clay Doll" ("Doro ningyō"), *The Japan P.E.N. News* No. 9 (July 1962) 1-9; Charles S. Terry, "Standing Still in Time" ("Toki ni tatsu"), *Japanese Literature Today* No. 2 (March 1977) 4-11; Victoria Nakagawa Vernon, trans., "From the Caramel Factory" ("Kyarameru kōjō kara") in *Three Japanese Women Writers: Higuchi Ichiyō, Sata Ineko and Kurahashi Yumiko* (Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1981); Mark Jewel, trans., "Camellia Blossoms on the Little Mountain" ("Chiisai yama to tsubaki no hana"), *Japanese Literature Today* No. 12 (1987) 5-14; Yukiko Tanaka, trans., "Crimson (excerpts)" ("Kurenai") in Yukiko Tanaka, ed., *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913-1938*; Victoria V. Vernon, trans., "The Inn of the Dancing Snow" ("Yuki no mau yado") in *Daughters of the Moon: Wish, Will, and Social Constraint in Fiction by Modern Japanese Women* (Japanese Research Monograph Series 9, Center for Japanese Studies, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988); Kyoko Iriye Selden, trans., "Memory of a Night" ("Yoru no kioku") in Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden, eds., *Japanese Women Writers*: *Twentieth Century Short Fiction*; Shiloh Ann Shimura, trans. "The Colorless Paintings" ("Iro no nai e") in Kenzaburō Ōe, ed., The Crazy Iris *and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath* (New York: Grove Press/Atlantic Monthly Press, 2000); and Samuel Perry, trans., "White and Purple" ("Shiro to Murasaki"), Winner of the William F. Sibley Memorial Translation Prize, 2010, available online at: http://ceas.uchicago.edu/japanese/Sibley_Translation_Project.shtml.

[33] Joan Ericson has pointed to how the term "*jidenteki*" ("autobiographical") or "*jiden*" ("autobiography") has been applied to women's writing more frequently than to men's writing, in line with the assumption that "'women's literature' constituted a distinct style" because "women's autobiographical fiction was somehow different from the I-novels men wrote." In place of the term "*jiden*," men's autobiographical fiction was more often categorized as "*shishōsetsu*." I do not intend to practice a discriminatory labeling here with the use of the term "literary autobiography." On the contrary, I see literary autobiography as a powerful mode for revealing these writers' insights about Japanese society and its gender politics, areas of consideration irrelevant within the insular purview of the *shishōsetsu*. One might perhaps consider *My Tokyo Map*, as Sata has herself, to constitute a new and improved take on the *shishōsetsu* ("I-novel") – a term that has been used to refer to literary texts in which the narrator, protagonist, and author closely resemble each other. Sata acknowledged that her writing in such autobiographical works as *My Tokyo Map* can be seen as an attempt at a new kind of *shishōsetsu* which keeps society and the political world in view, where traditional *shishōsetsu* was criticized for its insular, asocial perspective. See Sata's interview with Odagiri Hideo for an instance of her discussion of her autobiographical work in the context of the *shishōsetsu* genre: "Sata Ineko-san ni kiku: seiji to bungaku no kachū no hanseiki" in Enchi Fumiko, Hirabayashi Taiko, Amino Kiku, Sata Ineko, *Joryū sakka wa kataru* (Shūeisha, 1978) 197. See also Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature*, 25-29.

because one can also argue that it comprises a collection of literary personal essays, the genre known in Japanese as *zuihitsu* (随筆). Sata has been celebrated for her prolific work in the *zuihitsu* genre, although little of this work has been studied or translated by scholars working in English.[34]

My Tokyo Map presents glimpses of the life of an autobiographical first-person protagonist, Ineko, who is modeled after Sata but whom we will read here as a fictional character. Ineko lives in an array of Tokyo neighborhoods from her earliest years in the city working at the caramel factory at age 11, to her mid-thirties when she makes her living by writing.[35] Each story in the collection roughly corresponds to a different neighborhood and occupation of Ineko's. The precise description of the location of her lodgings and employment at a given time form the basis of a significant portion of each story, usually its introductory passage. For some of these stories, Ineko contrasts her memories and lived experiences of a certain neighborhood with her observations of that same area in the immediate postwar years from 1946 to 1948, when fire bombings had razed much of the city.

Over the course of *My Tokyo Map*, Ineko grows from an obedient daughter and worker struggling with poverty into a more experienced worker able to succeed in a range of positions, from laborer to maid to waitress to shop girl to copy editor. Over the course of these successive jobs, she moves up in terms of the prestige of her positions, and comes into contact with many writers, intellectuals, and entertainers at her workplaces.

[34] Sata's first collection of *zuihitsu* was *Ichi fujin sakka no zuihitsu: kakusareta peeji*, published in 1934 by Naukasha. Her last *zuihitsu* collection, entitled *Ato ya saki* was published by Chūō Kōronsha in 1993, when Sata was 89 years old. See Sata Ineko Kenkyūkai, "Nenpu," in Sata, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu* (Kōdansha, 2011) 267, 277.

[35] In the remainder of this section, I will primarily refer to the autobiographical protagonist of *My Tokyo Map* as "Ineko," in order to differentiate this character from the text's author, Sata Ineko, whom I will continue to refer to as "Sata." Note that this protagonist of *My Tokyo Map* goes unnamed in the text but for occasional moments when others call her "O-Ine" or "Ine."

Along with her growing résumé, Ineko also gradually acquires a more powerful interest in reading and writing fiction. As a poor young worker in Tokyo, she gains first-hand experience of the challenges and injustices of her varied workplaces, but it is not until she meets her future husband Yoshinosuke (modeled after Kubokawa Tsurujirō) and his fellow writer friends from the journal *Donkey* at one of her workplaces that she becomes directly acquainted with socialist political ideology and the proletarian cultural movements then in vogue among many Tokyo intellectuals. From this point onward, through association with these writer-customers and their social group, Ineko strikes out on a path which culminates in taking charge of her career as a writer and confidently asserting her political beliefs in her life and in her literature.

Intertwined with its geographical narrative, *My Tokyo Map* also tells the story of Ineko as an individual who becomes politicized and chooses to voice her political beliefs as a writer and member of the proletarian literary movement. The work thus illustrates how Ineko's personal goals converge with her growing interest in politics, in the process of forging her political identity. Hirabayashi's literary autobiography *Desert Bloom* also explores the process by which the personal and political converge in its author's life, but traces the opposite trajectory, wherein Hirabayashi brings her politics to bear upon her personal life (as I discuss in the next section).

In the first story of *My Tokyo Map*, "The Print," Ineko sets the scene of her Tokyo. From the postwar perspective from which she wrote, Ineko's earliest neighborhood home in Tokyo (and thus, her earliest Tokyo self) has since been reshaped by firebombing and the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 before that. Yet she conjures up memories of how it existed when she lived there, describing her neighbors and acquaintances and telling a

few anecdotes about her co-workers, family, and family friends. These anecdotes are set amongst nostalgic passages detailing the particular variety of shops, residential areas, and landmarks which made up the streets of the neighborhood when she lived there, and even before (according to what older characters tell her about the area's history). An early passage from "The Print" defines how Ineko sees her map:

> My Tokyo map is traced upon the canvas of my heart, in the order in which I walked its roads over thirty long years. And so, as the shape of its very streets changed over time, my heart's map is at times an old-fashioned landscape like a woodblock print guide to famous sites, and then at times a scene in the style of an art photograph, glossy in black and white.[36]
>
> 私の東京地図は、三十年の長きに亘って歩いてきた道の順に、心の紙に写されていったものだ。だから歳月とともに街の姿そのものが変ってゆき、私の心の地図は、名所案内の版画のように古めかしい景色であったり、白と黒とに光沢をもたせた芸術写真といったような風景であったりする。

There are moments, especially in "The Print" but in other stories as well, where Ineko makes explicit her perspective as a narrator composing the story in the immediate postwar. These include references to which scenes or locations remain strongest in her memories, and mentions of how her memories sometimes compete with what she observes years later, when she struggles to identify locations in the aftermath of the firebombing. Ineko as postwar narrator bears witness to the changes, big and small, which have reshaped the neighborhoods comprising her map: "These Tokyo streets were largely burned down. Standing in the burned-out streets of Tokyo, I spread out my map. The map drawn within me is the shape of my self."[37] Even burned and destroyed, these streets live on in the internal map of her memory. Ineko also appears as a self-conscious

[36] "Hanga" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 7.

[37] 「それらの東京の街は、あらかた焼け崩れた。焼けた東京の街にたって、私は私の地図を展げる。私の中に染みついてしまった地図は、私自身の姿だ。」 Ibid.

narrator in comments on her own narration of the city, such as which urban elements she notices she is most likely to describe, and how she has a tendency to evoke certain descriptive moods in narrating her Tokyo map, despite intending otherwise.

In "Bridges of Dreams" ("Hashi ni kakaru yume"), the collection's next story, Ineko presents a series of tragic dreams linked to certain Tokyo bridges. Having lived in various parts of the city for almost ten years by this time, Tokyo has become more familiar to her. At the same time, the destruction of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 changed the map of Tokyo that she had come to know.[38] These early stories focus mostly on episodes in the lives of Ineko's friends, neighbors, family, and coworkers. Ineko the narrator emerges as someone sensitive to the difficulties faced by others, and especially sympathetic to the plight of the poor working women she encounters. Slowly Ineko asserts her familiarity with the geography and neighborhoods of Tokyo as she takes on different types of work, adding new streets to her map with each new commute by foot. Tokyo has become "her territory" now, as seen in the oft-recounted opening sentence of the collection's third story, "Downtown" ("Shitamachi").[39] "In the midst of Tokyo's streets I secretly decided for myself that this was my territory: the neighborhood of Yamashita in Ueno, Ikenohata, Naka-chō, as far as from Kuromonchō to Okachimachi."[40]

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[38] "After the Great Earthquake, the map of Tokyo changed, at least in terms of the number of bridges over the Big River. Almost ten years from the time I came to live in Tokyo, at the very least my daily life facing the river in the house where we had made our base also disappeared."
「大地震を境にして、東京の地図は少なくとも大川にかかる橋の数だけでも変った。東京に移り住んで以来十年近く、小さくともそこに本拠をおいた私の家の川向うの生活もこの時に無くなった。」"Hashi ni kakaru yume" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 17.
[39] See "Shitamachi" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 25-39.
[40] 「東京の街の中で、ここは私の縄張り、と、ひそかにひとりぎめしている所がある。上野の山下の界隈で、池之端、仲町、せいぜい黒門町から御徒町まで。」Ibid., 25.

In "Downtown," Ineko works as a live-in waitress at a small restaurant called the Seiryōtei, which in reality Sata did from age 14 to 15. In the next story, "Ikenohata Past and Present" ("Ikenohata konjaku"), Ineko has returned to the Seiryōtei after a two-year hiatus, and now works there as a maid who is permitted to serve guests directly.[41] This time she works there from age 17 to 18. The Seiryōtei is frequented by various literary figures and other groups of customers, and one night a man takes an interest in Ineko. In depicting the exchange, she describes herself as "peculiar" (*fūgawari*, 風変り), an epithet to which she returns repeatedly in the early stories in *My Tokyo Map*. Ineko believes that her interest in reading and literature marks her as an unlikely maid, and she is self-consciously attuned to the ways in which others may treat her differently for that reason. In these young years, Sata becomes undeniably disenchanted with her life and her work. She begins to envision acting on her interest in literature, and struggles with feelings of longing for the economic and personal freedom to live a different kind of life.

> Amidst the playful banter that I received, saying things like, 'You're joking!' or 'I beg your pardon,' each day became more and more tedious. The playful banter I laughed away had flooded my body at some point, and my movements became more responsive, as inadvertent as my hardly noticing the coworkers with whom I lived. I began to long for something. I knew there was another world on the hill beyond Shinobazu Lake, and I couldn't put it out of my mind. I wanted to try to wear my hair in a *sokuhatsu* style, not always the [older] *ichōgaeshi* or *Shimada* styles. I wanted my own time to go see art exhibitions. I wanted to try speaking with someone as an equal, not always just saying 'Please excuse me,' and 'Certainly.'[42]
>
> 冗談ばっかり、とか、おそれいります、というような言葉で受ける戯言の中にいて、私はだんだん毎日がつまらなくなる。冗談に流す戯言もいつか私の身体を浸し、私は身のこなしが軟かくなっているが、一緒に寝起きする朋輩のことさえ気づかないうかつさで、そ

[41] See "Ikenohata konjaku" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 39-52.
[42] Ibid., 48.

して、何かに憧れ始めている。不忍の池の向いの高台には、別の世界のあることを私は知っているので、それが私を落ちつかせない。私はいちょう返しや島田ばかりではなく、束髪にも結ってみたくなる。文展を見にゆく自分の時間も欲しくなる。相すみません、かしこまりました、とばかり言わず、対等に誰かと話してみたくなる。

Part of this longing for a different life involved her own appearance, as she admitted wanting to wear a more modern hairstyle associated with contemporary students rather than with maids and geisha. Another part involved Ineko's inner life, as she recognizes her desire to take in more culture than just the glimpses she can glean from serving literati as their waitress, such as when, "[s]tanding to the side, watching the flame beneath the pot of sea bream stew, [she] tried to catch the nuances of even the meaningless words the authors exchanged with one another."[43] When a coworker tells Ineko that the authors (referring to a group of writers including Akutagawa Ryūnosuke [芥川龍之介], Kikuchi Kan [菊池寛], and Kume Masao [久米正雄] who often visited their restaurant) had commented on how Ineko had seemed to have changed lately, as if perhaps she had gotten married, Ineko felt an uncomfortable sensation run through her. She cares about these authors' attention toward her, and yet she is reluctant to be recognized just for her appearance. Ineko describes her life while working at the Seiryōtei as a period in which she grows into someone who knows what she wants for herself, and dares to begin to move toward that goal. "I read the entertainment column and the serial novel *The Daibosatsu Pass* in the *Miyako Shinbun*. The faint smile which never left my

[43] 「傍らに畏まって、鯛ちりの鍋の火を見ながら、作家たちの間で取り交わされるそんな何でもない言葉の、そのニュアンスを、私はとらえようとする。」Ibid., 48-49.

lips in front of others for the next few years came from this time. In that faint smile was my growing self-pride, struggling in its desire for the air of the outside world."[44]

Ineko finds her next job, as a shop girl at the bookstore Maruzen, through a help wanted advertisement. This position is a step up as a place of employment for a young woman. Walking home from work with a fellow shopgirl one evening, she remarks upon her new position and how it has come to expand her map of Tokyo. "Even my friend didn't know that my Tokyo map was expanding out to Nihonbashi from Ueno Ikenohata, and that I had swiftly changed into a shop girl from a maid at a small restaurant. … Seen from the outside, I was just another shopgirl, but to myself I was a girl with her own hue."[45] The atmosphere of Maruzen that better agrees with her professional aspirations. Ineko describes encountering a variety of well-known writers, artists, and performers among the store's customers. One of these is Miyamoto Yuriko (then Chūjō Yuriko), "the author of *Nobuko*,"[46] whose close friend Sata would later become. Another is the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae (大杉栄), who is pointed out to her by a coworker.

Eager to try a new life that does not necessitate earning a living by serving others, Ineko accepts a marriage proposal to a propertied university student through one of her colleagues at Maruzen, but soon finds herself in a very unfortunate match with a suspicious, anxiety-riddled husband. Ineko continues to describe her experience of new avenues of the self as expansions upon her map of Tokyo, but this self she feels to be

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[44] 「都新聞の、大菩薩峠と演芸欄とを読んだ。その後の数年消えなかった私の、人前ではいつも微笑をたたえている表情がこの時に出来た。その微笑のうちで私の小さな自負心が、外の空気を欲して喘いでいる。」 Ibid., 52.

[45] 「私の東京地図が上野池之端から日本橋へ伸びていることを、小さな料亭の女中から女店員に早代りしているということを、私の連れも知らない。… 外から見れば何でもない女店員のひとり、自分にとっては、自分なりの色合を持った娘である。」 See "Banka" ("Elegy") in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, 54-55.

[46] Ibid., 58.

more animal in its movements, rooted not in curiosity but in fear and pain. Ineko has seemed an introspective character so far, but from this point on we see her explicitly turn her energies inward in moments of difficulty, a self-silencing with harmful results on more than one level.

> In the midst of my struggles in this daily life with my husband, I had all along constantly kept my personal thoughts to myself. I'd be better off dead, I thought. … It was as if I had been doused with water somewhere, diluting how I had seen or thought about things at the restaurant downtown. Rather than stupidly insist, I gave up without a word. I sunk within rather than lay things bare.[47]

> 夫とのこんな生活に苦労しながら、その間にずうっと私は私ひとりの考えを胸に抱きつづけていた。死んでしまった方がいい、と。（前略） 私は下町の料理店で、ものの見方や考え方に、どこかさらりと水をかけて灰汁を抜くようなことを身に沁みさせてきたらしい。私は野暮にいい立てるよりも、いわずにあきらめた。露わにするよりも内へ沈めた。

These pent-up feelings of despair culminate in a series of suicide attempts. Awakening after her last (failed) attempt, Ineko finds out she is pregnant, a fact which jolts her out of the depths of her misery. "At that moment a new life was pulsing in my womb. I had planned to abandon all my senses to the wind, and yet I could feel the child's movement in my womb. At that moment for the first time I recovered my feelings and cried, shuddering with grief and uncertainty."[48]

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[47] Ibid., 83.

[48] 「このとき私の胎内にひとつの命が鼓動していた。すべての感覚を放擲しているつもりの私の胎内で、私は胎児の動きを感じた。私はそのとき初めて、感情を取りもどし、悲しみと不安におののいて、泣いた。」 Ibid., 87. After this tremendous reversal of fortunes in Ineko's life, she returns to the active life of a worker and an explorer of Tokyo. We see this identity of Ineko's in sentences like the following, where the subject "I" arrives at the end of a long modifying clause describing (and literally prioritizing within the narrative, at the sentence level) Ineko's actions moving through the city. "The one who now pushed open that door and crossed the train tracks was me."「今その扉を押し出して来て、電車道を横切ってゆくのは私であった。」 See "Omote dōri" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 89.

After giving birth and separating from her husband, Ineko takes a waitressing job at a new café and falls in love with a writer who frequents the place. Although she has gradually begun to express some of her desires and assert herself without fear of reproach from those around her, she still harbors anxiety over her broken marriage and suicide attempts. Ineko describes her continued healing process as it involves acknowledging the gap between how she sees herself and how others see her.

Ineko confirms at the end of "Main Street" ("Omote dōri"),[49] the eighth of the twelve stories comprising *My Tokyo Map*, that despite how her new lover chooses to interpret the course of events leading the two of them to connect, she will decide for herself how she understands her life's course. This is a meaningful step along the path Ineko treads in *My Tokyo Map* toward her personal goal of voicing her beliefs. At last, she has come to terms with her desire to start her life anew, free from any remaining ties to her ex-husband. "When I came to this town and the men [writers of the literary journal *Donkey*] showed me their journal, … I decided in my heart to shed that form of my life, … and at least in my own thoughts, at that moment I resolved upon a break with the past."[50]

In her new relationship, Ineko continues to work to identify and respect her true self, this time apart from her persona as a service worker and her social obligations to her husband and her neighbors as a housewife. Although she begins to learn about socialism, she initially faces criticism from her new partner due to her tenuous understanding and her attempt to refract party politics through the lens of a housewife concerned for her

[49] Ibid., 87-97. Originally published in *Bessatsu Bungei Shunjū* (April 1947).
[50]「私はこの町に来て、彼らの雑誌を見せられた時に、（前略）生活の形式を抜けようと心に決めた私が、（前略） 私は少なくとも自分の考えの中には、過去への訣別をそのとき覚悟した。」 Ibid., 97.

partner's welfare. Ineko considers herself non-confrontational, and so has a natural hesitation toward the implications of the struggle for workers' rights.

> … I remembered my embarrassment at this time.
> I've got to join in as well, Yoshinosuke said of the working class struggle.
> At once I felt my chest tighten with anxiety. Oh really? I replied,
> 'But you're only one person, so whether you join in or not doesn't really…'
> My words, meant to be worldly, really had the echo of a typical wife's familiar consideration.
> As if taken aback, Yoshinosuke quickly blurted out, as if to strike a blow,
> 'Don't talk like you know what you're saying when you don't know anything.'
> Even now, as someone who reads *Fantasy and Science*, my face still gets red with embarrassment over that time.[51]

> （前略）この頃の自分の恥ずかしさをおもい出すことがあった。
> 吉之助は労働者の階級の闘争に、俺も加わらねばならぬ、と言い出していた。私は、何かしゅうんと胸が不安に締めつけられてゆくのを感じる。そうお、と答えて、
> 『でもねえ、あなたひとり、その中に加わったって、加わらなくったって、…... 』
> 賢しげな言葉は如何にも女房らしい狎れ合ったいたわりのひびきを持っていた。
> 自分もはっとしたように、急いで吉之助は、叩くように言い放った。
> 『何もわからぬくせに、分ったような口を利くな』
> その時の恥ずかしさが『空想と科学』を読む私に、今も顔を赤くさせる。

Even as a more seasoned political activist, Ineko later recalls the scene with embarrassment, although surely this time it is due less to chagrin at an attempt to be true to her feelings than to her political naïveté and hesitation.

As her involvement in political activities grows in the company of her new lover, now husband, Ineko takes on a variety of roles about which she experiences hesitation,

[51] The "typical wife's" consideration here implies her exclusive interest in her husband, without any concern for the world outside of their home together or their relationship with one another. A significant challenge for bringing women into socialism in prewar Japan was the need to forge their awareness beyond the home and the immediate family, to incorporate a broader social consciousness. Thus, Ineko was chagrined to realize that her remarks were ultimately rooted in concern for their family unit. See "Utsuriyuki" ("Changes") in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 108.

persuading herself to endure for the sake of the political cause. Recollecting the socially challenging rehearsals at the Proletarian Arts League (Proletaria Geijutsu Renmei) headquarters she has been persuaded to attend, she asserts: "Each new thing I endured with the childish, fervent thought that it was all for the benefit of the working class."[52] When Yoshinosuke becomes more involved in the Labor-Farmer Party (Rōnōtō 労農党, or Rōdōnōmintō 労働農民党) after the first general election, he invites persecuted party leader Akino Matsugorō (秋野松吾郎, a fabricated name) to stay at their home temporarily while hiding from police. Although this exacerbates Ineko's anxiety about relations with their neighbors, she devotes herself to helping Akino remain unnoticed, serving as a lookout and a diversion to those who might visit their rented rooms while he is there.

In 1931, Ineko and Yoshinosuke have moved to a more working-class neighborhood, Jūjō, after a falling out with their previous landlords over their unannounced guests, who were revealed suddenly one night during the clamor after a strong earthquake. In her new, increasingly politically active lifestyle with Yoshinosuke, Ineko continues to convey empathy toward her impoverished neighbors as they struggle together to make a living. Her exposition of the pathos of the working class gains a sharpened focus in the story "Exterior and Interior" ("Omote to ura"), as in the following passage describing a neighbor.[53] This focus echoes Ineko's own growing involvement in proletarian literary production and her support of organizations such as the Proletarian Arts League.

[52]「これも階級のためなのだ—と幼い私の一生懸命な気持からそれに堪えている。」Ibid., 113.
[53] "Omote to ura" in Sata Ineko, *Watashi no Tōkyō chizu*, *SIZ*: 4, 121-134.

> The wife washed the potatoes with her baby feeding at her breast. She made no complaints nor gave compliments. Neither did she laugh loudly. There was even a dignity unbeknownst to the wife herself in her slightly pale, oval-shaped cheeks. Watching these people, I was made to think of the seeming contradiction between poverty and the essential features of man.[54]
>
> 細君は赤ん坊に乳をふくませていたり、芋を洗っていたりする。お世辞も愚痴も言わない。声高に笑ったりもしない。やや蒼い細君の面長な頬に彼女自身の知らぬ威厳さえある。私はこの人たちを見ていると、人間の本質的なものと貧乏との矛盾みたようなものを考えさせられるのであった。

Along the same lines, the story features some of the first muckraking scenes in *My Tokyo Map*, denouncing the conditions nameless laborers face at such workplaces as a fertilizer plant, when Ineko shares stories heard from her comrades. She moves from abstract condemnation and the recounting of workplace injustices in her neighborhood, to a report that poisonous gas had leaked from a powder magazine and spread even to Jūjō, where she lived. Although she fears these insidious, hidden dangers of her neighborhood, she also finds solace living among workers and comrades. These scenes recall the formula of prewar proletarian literature, with its standard emphasis on the details of exploitative working conditions and disgruntled laborers.

Not only does Ineko increasingly comment on the working conditions of those around her, she also begins to narrate her own struggle to perform multiple kinds of work as a mother, housewife, and writer.[55] Around this time, the Tōyō Muslin factory workers'

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[54] Ibid., 125.

[55] In one example of such narration, Ineko recounts a line said to her at a time when she was needing to care for her sick husband in addition to her usual household responsibilities: "'Well, Miss, can't you make money by writing more?' Leaving him and returning home, I bitterly replayed those words of his to no end. I dragged my feet, feeling my fate was subservience to the weight of myself concerned with my husband's illness, my childbirth, and one thing or another."「『まあ、女史はどんどん書いて金をもうけて暮れんですか』私は彼に別れて帰りながらその言葉を苦しくいつまでもおもい返している。私は夫の病気や自分の出産や何やかやに取りまかれている自分の重みに屈従と運命を感じ、足を引きずっている。」Ibid., 132.

strike becomes a personal matter, as when an escaped young factory girl stops by her home to ask Ineko, as a comrade, to convey a message to her factory coworker. This episode serves as a space for Ineko to reflect on the sisterhood of women workers supporting the class struggle, as well as an occasion to take inspiration from the bravery of a young girl so committed to the labor movement.

In describing the great benefit she finds in the friendship and solidarity of the fellow wife of an imprisoned leftist (likely modeled after Miyamoto Yuriko), Ineko seems renewed in her political commitment as an editor despite the increasing government repression of socialist political organizations and the internal turmoil these organizations experienced due to reports of their comrades' ideological conversions (*tenkō*). She characterizes the company of her friend as a source of willpower to enact her own decisions and endure in the face of difficulties and ideological challenges. Over time, Ineko has come to have a better grasp on the multiple roles she must play in her married, activist life, and it is not much of a surprise for her to realize she has become the central figure in her family. "Sitting next to the dim light from the lattice and eating soba noodles for New Year's Eve, I was determined to settle down, realizing that it was I who had brought my mother and children to this unfamiliar side street, and that I had to support Yoshinosuke in prison too, which meant that I had become the center of them all."[56]

After Ineko recounts how the Communist Kobayashi Takiji (小林多喜二) – notably one of the few figures in *My Tokyo Map* whose name corresponds exactly with the historical person upon whom he is based – is tortured to death by police and denied a

[56] 「光の暗い格子のそばに腰をかけて年越そばを食べていると、なじみの薄いこの横町で年寄りや子供を連れた自分というものが、刑務所の吉之助をも抱えて、彼らの中心になっているのだ、と、腰を据えるような気になっている。」Ibid., 140.

proper funeral, her anti-war comments increase in frequency as she describes scenes of militarization in Tokyo. She remarks how she can't stand the constant war songs played on the radio, for example. The content of the stories continues to include more discussions of political organizing, reactions to militarization, and considerations of the political issues fueling the proletarian literature movement. The issue of ideological conversion arises in a conversation with a friend after Yoshinosuke is released from prison. Ineko views the problem of ideological conversion primarily in terms of the struggle to get out of prison. She thus considers it a private matter that should be discussed between friends, and not something that merits questioning or a demand for redress by members of the socialist movement as a whole. When a friend asks if Yoshinosuke committed ideological conversion to be released from prison, she does not know how to respond. Her hesitation is characterized as a legitimate uncertainty over how best to interpret the difficult situations many socialists had been forced to endure as the government continued to repress leftist political thought. Ineko not only struggles with the public act of responding to a comrade about her husband's conduct while in prison, she faces the private dilemma of having to acknowledge that her personal desire for her husband to be released from prison at any cost is at opposition to her purported ideological identity as a Communist Party member. The doubts this occasion place in Ineko's mind likely contribute to her later decision to weaken her stance against the Japanese war effort, and yet by couching mention of this important issue in a brief conversation between Ineko and a friend, Sata mitigates its force in the service of portraying Ineko in the context of her unassailable virtue of consideration for those she cares about, rather than foregrounding her party allegiance here.

Near the end of *My Tokyo Map*, Ineko has come to hold more political beliefs of her own and to articulate those beliefs in a variety of spoken and written settings. She serves as editor for several Communist publications, which makes her a direct object of police scrutiny, and she speaks defiantly to police officers who impugn her involvement with political organizing. This shows clearly in the following scene, which depicts Ineko's experience of detainment at a police station.

> In my forty days spent at the police station, I was powerfully aware of my position as a woman, and rejected being treated like one.
> 'So, you must have been influenced by your husband's ideas,'
> said the big-boned public prosecutor who looked like he'd always had a good home life, as he stared at me with a cold, condescending, professional gaze. Even from a personal perspective, I opposed his condescending gaze.
> 'Of course that is also true. But from an early age I've always faced the pressure to work, and I have the experience of working continuously, and so even from my actual feelings of this daily life, I think these ideas are true.'
> The prosecutor stared at me again, the insubordinate woman who had thrown his purposely courteous question back at him.
> 'You all scorn the soldiers who go to war for our country, calling them bourgeois stooges.'
> 'Not at all. When I see a soldier, I'm moved to tears.'[57]

> 私は警察での四十日間の生活に、自分の女の立場を強く意識し、そういう扱いをされまいとしていた。（前略）
> 『君は、夫の思想に感化されたのだろうね』
> 如何にも家の暮らしも前々からよい、というような大柄な検事は、職業的に対手を見下ろした冷たい視線で私を見つめた。私はその見下ろした視線に個人的にも反撥した。
> 『もちろんそれもあるでしょう。けれども、私は幼少の時から生活に追われて、働きつづけて来た経験を持っていますから、その生活の実際の感情からも、現在の思想を正しい、とおもっているんです』
> 検事は、折角の好意の質問をはね返した不逞な女というふうに私をまた見据えた。
> 『君たちは、お国のために戦争にゆく兵隊を、ブルジョワの手先きだ、といって嘲笑しているんだろ』
> 『どういたしまして。私は兵隊さんを見ると、泣けてくるのです』

[57] Ibid., 143.

As *My Tokyo Map* comes to a close, Ineko and Yoshinosuke have begun to have marital difficulties, and she suspects him of having an affair. He has taken on a separate room for writing, and Ineko struggles to focus on her own writing while feeling distracted by an increasingly distant husband. With war advancing and the atmosphere in Tokyo becoming ever harsher for leftists of all stripes, Ineko decides to accept an invitation from a publishing company to visit the front in China as a reporter. Although she remains skeptical about the possibility of writing freely about this trip, she decides to prioritize her desire to satisfy her writer's curiosity and her newly realized commitment to bear witness to soldiers' experiences of war. This apex of Ineko's self-assertion and politically informed action brings the work to a close, as postwar Ineko looks out over the changed landscape of her Tokyo neighborhood of that time, Totsuka. Updating her map, she comments, "The road remains: this fact gave me undeniable satisfaction. With my old map's many winding roads engraved upon my heart, I again set out to walk and add my footsteps to those footsteps proceeding in one direction."[58]

In *My Tokyo Map*, Sata depicts a first-person narrator, Ineko, whose experiences seem to comprise a personal journey of soul-searching, as if in the act of writing she comes to know herself more fully, and becomes better able to give voice to her experiences and political beliefs as a writer, socialist activist, daughter, wife, and mother. Sata combines urban nostalgia – accessible to a wide range of readers familiar with Tokyo – with fictionalized depictions of her own personal experiences and a rich variety of human dramas to situate the narrative of her life in an unobjectionable context. Sata

[58] 「道が残っている、ということは、私に、厳然とした喜びを与えている。古い地図の数々の折れ曲った道を心にきざみながら、私はまた、ひとつの方向に進む足音に自分の足音を混じえて歩いて行こう。」 Ibid., 154.

crops her autobiographical narrative, published in the immediate aftermath of war when she likely bore the brunt of criticism from leftists who judged her complicit with the war effort, to end just as her protagonist has decided to travel to the front during the Pacific War around 1940. Portraying Ineko as a deeply humanist, considerate, and intellectually curious writer and individual, Sata presents a narrative which can be seen to culminate in a (potentially ideologically defensible) justification of Ineko's motives – cultivated over the course of her life, as told in *My Tokyo Map* – to travel to the front.

Exploring Where the Political Fails the Personal in Hirabayashi Taiko's *Desert Bloom*: Toward Love as a Revolutionary Force

"She has said, I am not the kind of weak woman who sets her own course by the opinions of others. She has also said, I'm the kind of person who hates relying on others to unlock my own destiny."[59] In his commentary for Hirabayashi's collected works, literary critic Yamamoto Kenkichi (山本健吉) conveys these words to illustrate the charisma of the author and her work. Here I look at this charismatic author's work *Desert Bloom*, a literary autobiography tracing a narrative of a first-person protagonist modeled after Hirabayashi, from her childhood in the Taishō period (1912-1926) to middle age in the mid-1950s postwar period.[60] The work narrates the life of this fictional protagonist, whom I will call Taiko, in two parts. Part One presents an account of her life from 18 to 23 years of age (1922-1928), when she worked a series of service jobs to support herself,

[59] 「自分の方針を、他人の意向で決めるような弱い女ではない、と氏は言う。自分の運命をひらくため人頼みをすることが、私は嫌いな人間なのだ、とも言っている。」 Yamamoto Kenkichi, "Kaisetsu," in *HTZ*: 7, 450. This is the volume that contains *Desert Bloom*.

[60] Yamamoto characterizes *Desert Bloom* as "an autobiographical full-length novel" (*jidenteki chōhen shōsetsu* 自伝的な長編小説). Ibid., 445. Yamamoto further explains to the reader that *Desert Bloom* should be seen as the more accurate authority on Hirabayashi's life compared to her semi-autobiographical short stories and longer work, which, as literature, are necessarily "fiction" (虚構). Nevertheless, I treat *Desert Bloom* here as a work of fiction.

participated in socialist political organizing, and gradually developed an identity as a writer, all while engaging in a succession of trying relationships with artists and writers. It opens with Taiko attending night school after her day job as a telephone operator trainee, overwhelmed by the large number of students in the class but excited by the possibilities of life in Tokyo, to which she has recently moved after graduating from a girls' high school.[61] Her roommate, a former classmate, excitedly tells her about a young man with whom she has been spending more and more time outside of work. Taiko listens, but has no personal experience from which to understand her roommate's excitement. Part One culminates with Taiko's marriage to Kobori Jinji – note that Hirabayashi chose to use her husband's name to depict him as a character in this work, rather than changing his name – followed by the unexpected news that her father has suddenly fallen ill and passed away, which then precipitates hasty preparations to return to her family home in Suwa (in Nagano prefecture) on the very day she had planned to move in with her new husband.

Part Two traces thirty years of Taiko's marriage to Kobori, from their first days living together in 1928 after Taiko returned from her father's funeral, to the moment in 1955 when he confesses to having a longstanding affair with their maid. The beginning of Part Two shows Taiko devastated by her father's sudden death, which occurred soon after she had been to visit him after years away and found him in fine health. After the funeral she spends some time in Suwa mourning the loss, but her new husband soon sends a letter admonishing her to heed socialist doctrine, leave her relatives, and return to Tokyo rather than drowning in sorrow. Although she questions his rationale, she soon returns to

[61] I will refer to the autobiographical protagonist of *Desert Bloom* as "Taiko," so as to contrast with the author, whom I will (continue to) refer to as "Hirabayashi." Note that in contrast to Sata's *My Tokyo Map*, *Desert Bloom* uses fewer fabricated names for characters modeled after its author's real-life acquaintances.

Tokyo. Almost thirty years later, this same man suddenly drops a photograph onto Taiko's desk. When Taiko asks who the five- or six-year old girl in the photograph is, he replies, "It's my child." Taiko, only half-believing him, asks who her mother is, whereupon he supplies the name of the woman who had long been their maid until she left to give birth to a child. This is the final scene of *Desert Bloom*, which ends with objects from Taiko's desk flying through the air at Kobori's profile as he flees the room.

The two opening and closing scenes from Part One and Part Two of *Desert Bloom* spotlight significant moments when the relationship between a man and a woman takes shape or changes course. As she narrates it here, Taiko's life story begins when she was a young woman excited by the promise of Tokyo, and ends with her experience as an older woman in a troubled marriage. Over the course of the narrative, Taiko grows up and gains the experience in romantic relationships with men that she lacked at the story's start. In the end, as we have seen, her primary relationship does not ultimately proceed as she had expected. In *Desert Bloom*, Taiko traces her maturation as an individual woman, as a wife, and as a romantic partner. The title itself refers to the experience of falling in love after thinking one was no longer capable of such an experience; the "desert flower" blooms to the surprise and awe of its observers, attesting to the life hidden within what appears to be a barren landscape. [62] As the title hints and the scope of the work reinforces, *Desert Bloom* focuses the spotlight on Taiko's struggles in personal relationships.

[62] Yamamoto Kenkichi also remarks upon this significance held by the title *Desert Bloom*. He considers Taiko's own love for Ishikawa as it is described in such terms in the text (「砂漠に花ひらく」), but also Kobori's love for their maid they called "Big Sister" (「お姉さん」), to represent "desert blooms." See Yamamoto, "Kaisetsu," in *HTZ*: 7, 451-452.

Late in her marriage Taiko developed a powerful attachment to a man named "Ishikawa,"[63] a fact she admitted to Kobori. Thereafter the two openly discussed the possibility of separating. Indeed, they worked, and even lived for a time, in separate homes for part of their marriage once they recovered from their respective illnesses and hardships during the Pacific War. This set-up allowed Taiko the "room of one's own" to attend to her work as a writer without the distractions of wifely housekeeping duties. (This is not to say that Kobori's possessing a separate household did not cause some anguish for Taiko. She recognized the practicality of the situation and the professional benefits it afforded her [which she was unwilling to give up], but often lamented the distance it necessarily reinforced between them.)[64] In *Desert Bloom*, Taiko claims that it was Kobori who most often voiced the phrase, "Let's separate" (「別れよう」).[65] While Taiko admits feeling distant from Kobori, having straying affections, and even having herself suggested that they divorce, in *Desert Bloom* she comes across as a partner committed to honesty and equality in their relationship, even in times of unhappiness. Hirabayashi depicts Taiko as someone quite sensitive to her husband's behavior toward her, and concerned with their emotional equilibrium as a couple. Although she admits to finding it difficult to see her own relationships clearly at times, Taiko seems to present a vigilant sensitivity toward her interpersonal relations day to day. It is from this position

[63] "Ishikawa" appears modeled after an English conversation tutor of Hirabayashi's named "Tom" with whom she studied in 1949. At that point, Kobori had already begun his affair with their maid, although Hirabayashi did not know it at the time. See Nakayama Kazuko, *Josei sakka hyōden shiriizu 8: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Shintensha, 1999), 149-150; and Toda Fusako, *Moete ikiyo: Hirabayashi Taiko no shōgai* (Shinchōsha, 1982) 175-184.

[64] "Yet after all, I was tormented by his having his own home. I thought all about it, but came to the worn conclusion that it was divine providence, so it couldn't be helped; in the end, the outlet for my affection was in making him happy."「しかし、私は、やっぱり、彼が家庭をもったことに煩悶して、一人でいろいろに考えても、それは仕方のない天の摂理で、けっきょく、彼らを幸福にしてやるところに、自分の愛情のやり場があるのだという、老けこんだ結論に立ちいたってしまう。」See Hirabayashi Taiko, *Sabaku no hana*, in *HTZ*: 7, 443.

[65] Ibid.

that the sudden news of Kobori's affair with her live-in maid and the web of lies surrounding the birth of their child shocks Taiko beyond words, and immediately impels her to throw the nearest objects at him, the image that closes the novel.

To return to the start of *Desert Bloom*, we can see that Taiko's earliest conversations with her former high school classmate center around the issue of male-female romantic relationships and chastity. As young socialists, Taiko and her friend Yaeko resist the patriarchal treatment of women as the property of their fathers or husbands. At this early point in her development we can already see how Taiko's political convictions shape her understanding of personal relationships:

> …[W]ithout having tasted the meaning of life within the broader purview of human existence, to be passed from parent to husband and thus secure a placidly uneventful woman's life – while this was the goal for women, we believed it to be a misfortune. From there we came to question even the issue of chastity, asking, "How much worth is there even in protecting it?"[66]
>
> ひろい人間生活の中で生活の意味を味わうこともなく親の手から夫の手にわたってゆく、無事平穏な女の生涯を、むしろ私たちは不幸と考えた。そういう考えから出発して、貞操問題についても、『それを守ることに一体どれだけの価値があるのか』という疑問に到達していた。

Even at this young age, Taiko speaks in the terms of sophisticated social critique, hypothesizing about the abstract figure of "woman" in relation to the "issue of chastity" and its "worth."

Desert Bloom also famously recounts Taiko's young life moving in anarchist circles, where she befriended Hayashi Fumiko. Having learned from Hayashi how to write children's stories and young women's fiction to sell to magazines, Taiko enjoys the challenges she faces at this moment in her life, even despite being chased by poverty.

[66] Ibid., 81-82.

Fumiko's friendship, the company of her anarchist writer and artist colleagues, and her strengthening focus on writing inspired Taiko to claim, "… I did not despair at all in my life. The more difficult it was to eke out a living, the more I convinced myself that I was a person who had gotten on by turning society's values upside down. Fumiko wasn't as rational-minded as me, but in the end we felt the same way."[67] Again we see Taiko characterizing herself as relying on rational interpretations of her life experiences, this time in contrast not to her classmate but to her carefree new friend Hayashi.

Over the course of a series of mismatches with anarchist lovers in her late teens and early twenties, Hirabayashi eventually decides to seek out a marriage introduction to someone she can trust to be a more responsible partner. Yet early in her married life with the Communist activist Kobori Jinji, Taiko's former lover Ishida (likely modeled after Hirabayashi's erstwhile lover Iida Tokutarō) searched out her residence and made frequent visits. Taunting her and claiming to want her back, Ishida frightened and frustrated Taiko. Initially, Kobori offers little advice to Taiko on how to get rid of Ishida. But after Kobori encounters Ishida in town and experiences his manipulation first-hand, he chooses to confront him.

> …[S]uddenly Kobori grabbed the back of Ishida's neck.
> 'Hey, if you're an anarchist who sings the praises of freedom, how about admitting the freedom of this woman? What is this peeking into people's houses again and again you've been doing lately? It's scheming and petty!'
> The strong Kobori easily took Ishida by the collar and twisted him around. At last Kobori pushed Ishida out the door and turned the key.[68]
>
> （前略） いきなり小堀は石田の背をつかんだ。

[67] 「（前略）私は少しも生活に絶望していなかった。暮らしに困れば困るほど、私は、自分が世間の価値を、さかさにして生きて来た人間であることを、自分に言いきかせた。芙美子も、私ほど理屈ばっていないけれども、けっきょく同じ気分だった。」Ibid., 232.
[68] Ibid., 284-285.

> 『おい、君も自由を謳歌するアナーキストなら、女ひとりの自由ぐらい認めたらどうだ。なんだい、このあいだから、幾度も人の家をのぞいたりして、やることがけちで陰険だよ』
>
> 力のつよい小堀は、やすやすと、石田の襟がみをつかんで、彼をひねりまわした。ついに小堀は、石田を扉の外に突きだしてカギをしめた。

Pointing to the contradictions between Ishida's political claims and his poor treatment of Taiko, Kobori emerges as a sympathetic male figure who is both intellectually and physically able to defend Taiko's rights and personal safety. In spite of this auspicious beginning, over time Kobori and Taiko would grow apart. Taiko preferred to spend her time writing, apart from Kobori, rather than tend to his needs and their household chores. She also brought in more income than he did, and there were tensions over how to manage two writing careers and political activism with the maintenance of a household. As Taiko describes it, "[i]n ten years of marriage, we had each gone our own ways without making any common goals together as a couple, just each dedicated to our own work."[69] Soon, however, increasing censorship and police investigation of socialists and Communists in the mid-1930s came to affect them as well. Imprisoned in place of Kobori, and unjustly held for months even after Kobori turned himself in, Taiko developed multiple serious illnesses and came close to dying before she was released. The story of Kobori's tireless, self-sacrificing efforts to nurse Taiko back to health over the subsequent eight years is a truly touching tale of love. It shows Taiko and Kobori discovering new sides of one another and overcoming obstacles together in a way they never quite seemed able to do in less trying moments of their marriage.

Taiko expresses great relief, albeit mixed with some doubt, at Kobori's first real expression of commitment to her care.

[69] Ibid., 397.

> ‘Kobori says if you come back to Yodobashi Hospital, this time somehow or other he’ll make money on his own.’
> Expressionless, I wheezed a difficult breath. But something of a doubtful emotion passed through my breast. He was going to make money on his own – in ten plus years of married life that was something I had not yet experienced once. Could I rest this body of mine, hovering on the verge of life and death, on that vow? I no longer had in my body the endurance of emotion to pursue that question. In any case, I had decided to return to Yodobashi Hospital.[70]

> 『小堀君は、あなたが淀橋病院に帰ったら、今度は自分の手で、どうかして金をつくるといっています』
> 私は、無表情ですうすうと苦しい息をしていた。けれども、胸には何かしら疑わしい感情がよぎった。彼が自分の手で金をつくるなどということは、十何年の結婚生活で、まだ一度も経験したことのないことである。そんな誓いの言葉に、生死の境をさまよっているこの体を、もたせかけられるだろうか。しかし、その疑問を追求するような感情の持続力は、もう私の体にはなかった。何はともあれ、淀橋病院にかえることに、私はきめてしまった。

Note that the strength of his commitment hinges upon his vow to work to provide for Taiko, echoing the issue that had long plagued her relationships. This had also been the one question she made sure to ask of him when they first discussed marriage – whether he felt he could provide for her as her husband. His answer in the affirmative then had satisfied Taiko, but the reality of their married life slowly wore away at her goodwill toward him. Kobori translates for hours each night, feeds and cleans Taiko, sacrifices to buy nutritious foods for her even in the depleted markets of wartime Tokyo, and gives his all to the cause of her recovery. Taiko would recognize these efforts with true gratitude and admiration.

Still, shortly before evacuating to her hometown in the midst of firebombing near the end of the war, Taiko has an experience which, in retrospect, reveals how clouded her vision can be when it comes to her own relationships. She easily perceives that the

[70] Ibid., 402.

illegitimate child of a neighboring woman's younger daughter has been fathered by the neighbor's husband, but such clarity does not extend to her own circumstances. "Although when it came to other people my judgment worked well, afterward when I compared the events in that house with my own incident, I could look back keenly at my foolishness at being blind to my own situation."[71]

With this foreshadowing setting the stage for the remainder of the work, soon after recovering from the worst of her illnesses, Taiko initially strives to forget literature. She throws herself into household management, cooking and taking care of the home. Kobori finds this situation extremely satisfying, and claims that this moment is his happiest thus far. He was then working as a translator, editor and writer to bring in money with which he could provide for his wife (and use some of it as he pleased, to visit a geisha or gamble). Taiko suspects that Kobori is disappointed by her eventual return to writing full-time, as it overturns the temporary power imbalance in which Kobori had felt proud and capable to care for his weakened wife.

> Still, I'm sure my husband's feelings in this case were complicated. He seemed to hate that I would return to being a novelist when I recovered. My husband was horror-struck, he later confessed, when I was still in Tokyo doing some sewing and he heard me blurt out,
> 'Oh, this kind of work is ridiculous!'
> While I was sick, and even when I had recovered, I was thinking a lot about my literature and literary movements. Although the time had come for me to execute those conclusions, he seemed unhappy at my return to Tokyo [after evacuating during the bombings].[72]
>
> こういうとこの夫の気持は、複雑だったにちがいない。彼は、私が回復してもとの小説家にもどるのがいやなのであるらしかった。東京にまだいたころ、私が裁縫をしながら、

[71] 「他人のこととなれば、判断力がよく働くのに、自分のことでは盲目になる自分のおろかしさが、あとになって、自分の事件と、この家の出来事を思いくらべて、しみじみかえりみられるのである。」Ibid., 420.
[72] Ibid., 422.

『ああ、こんな仕事はばからしい！』と口走ったのをきいたとき、夫はぞっとしたと、あとで告白している。
病気中、そしてなおってからも、私は自分の文学や、文学運動について、いろんなことを考えていた。その結論を実行するときが来たのに、彼は私の上京をよろこばないらしい。

Taiko returns to her writing with a renewed intensity, and feels a satisfaction in literary work that she wishes she could share with her husband. Yet while she is focusing on work and health in the postwar years, Kobori is beginning an affair with their maid. The remainder of *Desert Bloom* narrates these last few years of marriage in hindsight, reflecting on Kobori's affair and Taiko's bitter regrets.

> My greatest wish was to somehow create for my husband one job that he could happily devote his life to.… Just as I was feeling this way, and with my husband was fully aware of those feelings, it was impossible to imagine that he had been constantly meeting up with our maid "Big Sister" outside of our home.[73]

> なんとかして夫が生涯をかけてこころよく働ける仕事を一つ、作ってやりたいのが私のせつな願いだった。… こんな気持でいたとき、それを承知している夫が、女中のお姉さんと外でしょっちゅう逢引していたとは、想像できようはずがなかった。

Eventually, Taiko learns that the maid has become pregnant. When the supposedly mid-thirties single woman asks to take a leave of absence to give birth, Taiko still has not realized that she had been having an affair with Kobori. Thinking back on the situation later, Taiko even considers that she may have been irresponsible to let the woman leave without asking her where she would go or confirming that she would be provided for.[74] (This behavior presages Hirabayashi's own conduct after her divorce from Kobori, and even after Kobori's death, when she provided financial support for both the maid and the

[73] Ibid., 426.
[74] "Thinking back on it later, I may have been irresponsible to let a woman in such a condition leave without asking her destination."「あとで考えて見れば、こんな身の上の女を出て行く先も聞かずに出してやった私は、無責任であったかもしれない。」Ibid., 429.

child.) It bears mention that Hirabayashi and Kobori's financial arrangement was absolutely unconventional for the prewar, wartime, and even early postwar years in which they lived together. For a married woman to earn any money from a profession in prewar Japan, rather than remaining in the home as a housewife, was already unusual, but for Hirabayashi to have been the *primary* breadwinner as a popular writer while her husband went for periods without earning any money at all was extremely unusual. That Hirabayashi condoned, and seemingly encouraged this setup surely contributed to Kobori's emasculation, if not to a resultant fracturing of their personal bond. We might see Hirabayashi's decision to provide financial support even for her husband's mistress and illegitimate child as it testifies to Hirabayashi's devotion to her husband, or perhaps her unwavering commitment to social justice, or her powerful sense of personal obligation to support toward those in need around her.

After her recovery, Taiko had generally given money to Kobori whenever he asked for it, in part out of recognition for the sacrifices he made to nurse her back to health. But eventually she comes to resent being approached for money on the basis of pretexts that she does not really believe or understand. She does her best to support his politically-related ventures, even though she does not necessarily support the organizations with which he works, as part of her fervent hope for his success at a job that means something to him. Only later does she realize that Kobori's escalating requests for money toward the end of their marriage were due to the needs of his child with the maid.

Ishikawa arrives as the bloom in the desert of Taiko's life at this moment after the pregnant maid has left their home, but before Taiko finds out her husband had been

having an affair.[75] She soon takes to inviting him over frequently, and spending time with him becomes an oasis of joy in her life. Kobori seems relieved to find Taiko interested in Ishikawa, as it alleviates his guilty conscience somewhat. But even while distant from Taiko as a husband, he torments her for turning her (unrequited) affections toward this other man.

> If this were between a peaceful, ordinary couple, until this point when things got entangled, surely it would be common sense to end Ishikawa's visits. But that I could not do. Having rebuffed Ishikawa, who had appeared in the midst of the desert of my life when I had no source of solace, and with my husband so distant he wouldn't give me the time of day, I would be in a world by myself.[76]
>
> 平和で事のない夫婦のあいだでなら、ここまで事がもつれたときには、石川の出入りを止めるのが常識であるに違いない。しかし、私にはそれができなかった。何も慰めのない、砂漠のような生活の中にあらわれた石川をしりぞけたところで、夫は、もう取りつく島もないほどへだたったところに、自分一人の世界をもっているのである。

Taiko confesses her growing feelings for Ishikawa to Kobori, even asking for a divorce so she can propose to Ishikawa. Even as she moves to undo their bond, Taiko treats Kobori with honesty. When Ishikawa rebuffs her proposal and suggests they continue to see one another as friends, she feels chagrined at the divide between her actions and her thoughts. "If it were a novel I was writing, how I would have criticized the phrase 'let's be friends.' But when it came to myself, there was nothing I could do but bow my head

[75] This depiction of Ishikawa's interlude in Taiko's life conveniently serves to allow Taiko the narrator to look back upon this time (after hearing Kobori's confession), and disparage Kobori's behavior as hypocritical where he taunts Taiko for spending time with Ishikawa. This sympathetic portrayal of Taiko as she endures this treatment from Kobori supports a view of her as a victim of Kobori's willful behavior and disrespect.
[76] Ibid., 434-435.

and accept the reality just as it was."[77] With this metaliterary comment, Hirabayashi has Taiko imply that her response to Ishikawa was not fiction – thus her inability to do more than accept his suggestion they remain friends in response to her proposal of marriage. By signaling here that Taiko's experience should be seen to constitute "reality" (that is, a non-fiction account) as opposed to "a novel," Hirabayashi subtly authorizes her autobiographical protagonist as the agent of her "real" actions and dialogue. Not long after this event, Taiko travels to Europe for the first time with a group of writers and socialists, and continues communicating with Ishikawa as she sees fit, despite Kobori's warning against her doing so. She continues to despair for her failed marriage and lament the affair she believes her husband to be having with a geisha or waitress somewhere, but she still has her writing and her friendship with Ishikawa. At this point Kobori starts hinting that he has something to confess, until one day he drops the photograph on Taiko's desk in the scene that closes *Desert Bloom.*

If we understand the vicissitudes of Taiko's personal life as narrativized by Hirabayashi drawing from her life experiences to comprise the core of *Desert Bloom*, this is not to elide the significance of its recounting of Taiko's political commitments and ideological trajectory. Indeed, especially in Part One, Taiko recounts her involvement with socialism, anarchism, and Communist literary movements as a young writer establishing her professional and personal goals. Inevitably, these two themes intertwine throughout the work, as Taiko meets romantic partners and friends through her associations with political groups and leftist literary circles. What I would like to emphasize here is that Taiko is shown to have already formed her foundational political

[77] 「自分の書く小説でなら、友だちとして交際しようという言葉を、どんなふうに批判したろうか。しかし、自分のこととなれば、ただうなだれて、あるままの現実を受け取るよりほか仕方がなかった。」Ibid., 438.

and professional convictions as a young student in Suwa, prior to moving to Tokyo. These early convictions are already in place from the start of *Desert Bloom*. While characterizing Taiko in terms of her strength of will borders on cliché, even from a young age she did seem to possess a powerful desire to read, write, and work on behalf of underprivileged women and workers. Given her strong personal commitment to socialist values and interest in reading and writing, Taiko appeared to have arrived in Tokyo ready to engage in political organizing and intellectual exchange. By contrast, on the personal level she had little firsthand experience of romantic relationships, so in this area she had comparatively more room to mature.

Through a series of disappointing and exploitative relationships with several men whose sympathetic ideological stances hid undesirable attitudes toward women and the work of sustaining a household with a partner, Taiko gained direct knowledge of – and developed strong opinions about – male-female relations. She became better able to assert her needs and express herself in her choice of romantic partnership in the wake of these failed relationships, although she moved from disillusionment with an ideal of equality in love between revolutionaries toward a more complex view of love as a force with the potential to revolutionize individuals' lives. *Desert Bloom* traces this change in Taiko's outlook, as narrativized by Hirabayashi in the wake of her betrayal by Kobori. Hirabayashi depicts an autobiographical protagonist who seemed to navigate her personal relationships primarily according to her political ideals. In this sense *Desert Bloom* foregrounds the importance of a political perspective to Taiko's outlook on life and conduct as an individual in the face of complex personal relationships. One might consider the self Taiko narrates in *Desert Bloom* as a "socialized self," in that she is

conscious of how societal institutions and their politics shape her experiences and actions as an individual. Taiko's actions (and Hirabayashi's inscription of Taiko taking such actions) constitute a selective critique of patriarchal and fascist institutions.

Taiko's pursuit in *Desert Bloom* of love with a revolutionary force that would hew to her socialist, feminist ideals and radically transform its subjects' lives for the better can be seen as akin to Ineko's cultivation of a mature political voice in her *My Tokyo Map*. Both pursuits aim at a productive convergence of an individual's personal beliefs (as a woman, wife, and mother) and (socialist and feminist) political beliefs in service of the professional work of writing. Of course the autobiographical novels of two individuals must be two infinitely different works, even when they are both by modern Japanese women writers who became involved in the proletarian literature movement as poor, young, unknowns, and which both trace their author's political commitments over the course of their young lives. Hirabayashi's *Desert Bloom* and Sata's *My Tokyo Map* address these similar personal and political trajectories of two young women, and considers where these trajectories take shape as contrasting narratives in accordance with each writer's own distinctive concerns, and how each narrative may represent its author's idealized persona, as the product of a deliberate process of self-fashioning through autobiographical narrative.

Conclusion

Hirabayashi and Sata both narrated aspects of themselves in autobiographical literature before and after (and in the case of Sata, also during) the Pacific War, over a period that spans their active involvement in the proletarian literature movement and their subsequent development in the postwar years. As poor young women who rose to literary

prominence in a largely male literary establishment through the crucible of the proletarian literature movement, both Hirabayashi and Sata embodied unprecedented identities for writers in modern Japanese literary history. In depicting their personal experiences, they may have traded upon (or passively benefitted from) the novelty of their identities, or readers' interests in autobiographical fiction (as conditioned by the prevalence of the *shishōsetsu* and related variants of the autobiographical mode in early Shōwa Japanese literature). Their body of autobiographical works came to characterize each author's unique literary style, while at the same time paradoxically forming the basis for grouping the two together through commonalities of genre, economic background, gender, and leftist politics. Given this tendency, one can imagine the personal and professional benefits to both Hirabayashi and Sata of wielding the literary autobiography form in the wake of an upsetting life occurrence. First of all, returning to (and adding to) the material of their personal lives as a source upon which to model a new literary work would likely ensure them a built-in audience of readers. Secondly, the act of crafting a new "final word" on their lives through the process of narrativizing their lives in the mode of literary autobiography allowed them to be in control of the presentation of the newest portrayal of their lives, albeit fictionalized. In this mode, Hirabayashi could grapple with her husband's betrayal and the failure of her marriage, and Sata could reckon with accusations of complicity in the war effort, drawing selectively upon fact and fiction where desired to fit these unsettling experiences into the narratives of their lives they chose to encourage others to believe. We might call this process persona crafting, or revisionist autobiography, but at its core its power lies in the writer's unassailable agency to shape her own story of her self in the realm of literature. The issue of access to such

authorial agency itself fueled modern Japanese women's movements for self-expression, in the context of which the members of the early Shōwa women's network I study here can be seen to have made great gains over the course of their careers spanning the Pacific War.

In *Desert Bloom*, by contrast, Hirabayashi presents a narrator, Taiko, who tells a story that her readers may find more difficult to identify with personally, while at the same time engaging them with highly original thoughts and actions that speak to a powerfully individual literary style. Hirabayashi's honest appraisals of her life experiences through the character of Taiko, articulated with an acute awareness of their relation to the multiple forces of social institutions, comprise an incisive vision of how the personal domain can be mobilized in narrative to foreground the role of politics. In political terms, Hirabayashi's autobiographical self appears within literature as already fully formed. Rather than comprising a search for the political self, Hirabayashi's literary autobiography depicts the experiences of that self within society and in relationship to others, and how that self asserts its individual will throughout a life of new experiences and shifting interpersonal alliances.

The literary autobiography form offers a space for Hirabayashi to give voice, in the character of Taiko, to her perspective on the years and incidents which led up to her failed marriage, as she seems so powerfully to want to make sense of for herself, and to make clear (perhaps to Kobori, or perhaps to readers in general). If her story of Taiko maturing as a woman, finding success as a writer, and finding satisfaction in her marriage need culminate in the honest failure of the latter of these three processes, at least Hirabayashi has the power to end it on the scene of her shock at Kobori's confession, a

moment when, in her furor, she need not immediately consider her culpability in the breakdown of their relationship. She has the rest of the narrative to work out her thoughts on that matter, the process of which may have provided its own satisfaction to Hirabayashi, given how intricately she details Taiko ruminating on every aspect of her years with Kobori. Yet in that *Desert Bloom* traces Taiko's life from childhood through to the moment of Kobori's confession, it also imparts a forceful sense of how tragic and significant Hirabayashi chose to figure his betrayal in her life as a whole.

Chapter Three: "'Rivalry' on Record: Miyamoto Yuriko, Hirabayashi Taiko, and the Politics of Writing About 'Women Writers' in Early Shōwa Japan"

In this chapter, I address the relationship between Hirabayashi Taiko and Miyamoto Yuriko, and examine their "rivalry" in two works of critical writing – Miyamoto's collection of essays entitled *Women and Literature* (*Fujin to bungaku*, 1948) and Hirabayashi's critical biography of Miyamoto Yuriko (*Miyamoto Yuriko*, 1971-72).[1] I consider how these texts not only showcase their intellectual antagonisms, but also exhibit contrasting approaches to the work of writing about modern Japanese "women writers" (*joryū sakka* or *fujin sakka*) while challenging perceptions of "women's literature" (*joryū bungaku*) and "women writers" as unified concepts.[2] Close readings from these texts provide the anchors for my analysis here, pinpointing each author's rhetorical stance for depicting the other writer's life and literature. Using this written record of their critical postures toward one another, I weigh the significance of these texts to an understanding of the interconnectedness of Hirabayashi and Miyamoto's careers. I conclude my analysis with an examination of the forces at work behind the characterization of Miyamoto and Hirabayashi as "rivals" – a persistent label that continues to be applied to both writers today.

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[1] Miyamoto Yuriko, *Fujin to bungaku: Kindai Nihon no fujin sakka*, (Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, 1948). (See also *Miyamoto Yuriko zenshū, Vol. 12* [Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1980], 213-435. [*This 1979-1986 edition of Miyamoto's collected works hereafter abbreviated as MYZ*: [Vol. No.] *followed by page numbers*.]) Hirabayashi Taiko, *Miyamoto Yuriko*, (Bungei Shunjū, 1972).

[2] I translate the terms "*fujin sakka*" and "*joryū sakka"* as "woman writer" and "women writers," enclosing them in scare quotes to differentiate these essentialist terms which served as markers of difference and described women's identities as writers (and their works) in terms of a feminine or female style, from their contemporary analogue "*josei sakka*" and the corresponding contemporary usage of the terms "woman writer" and "women writers." Similarly, I translate "*joryū bungaku*" as "women's literature" to describe the supposed feminine or female-style literature produced by "women writers." Its contemporary analogue, "*josei bungaku*," I render as "*women's writing*."

Hirabayashi Taiko and Miyamoto Yuriko: A Study in Contrasts

While socialist revolutionary ideas initially inspired both the upper-middle class Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) and the working-class Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-1972) during their involvement with the proletarian literature movement of the late 1920s, the two famously disagreed about the proper role of socialist political activism in Japan, and came to be known as rivals thereafter. Miyamoto and Hirabayashi both gained renown as talented young women writing in Tokyo in the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods. The working-class Hirabayashi began studying leftist thought and writing fiction from the time she was a girls' high school student in the early 1920s in Nagano, before moving to Tokyo in 1922 at age 17.[3] There she befriended several anarchists while working a succession of jobs to support herself. In 1924, she and her lover, the anarchist Yamamoto Torazō (山本虎造), went to Manchuria to look for work, having been sentenced to leave Tokyo after questioning and police suspicion following the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. While in Manchuria, Yamamoto was jailed for treason.[4] Without resources of her own, and suffering from malnutrition and beriberi, Hirabayashi had to enter a hospital

[3] An episode critics and biographers commonly cite when discussing Hirabayashi's upbringing and her bold, solitary move to Tokyo is one Hirabayashi herself wrote of multiple times. Hirabayashi's father saw her off at the train station as she left for Tokyo with the exhortation that even if she were to go become a female bandit, she should go be the best bandit there is. For one such retelling of this story, see Hirabayashi, "Watashi no rirekisho" in *HTZ*: 12, 45. Hirabayashi surmised that he must not have been able to imagine what she might realistically be going alone to Tokyo to do, as a single, young woman at that time, aside from living as some kind of renegade. Hirabayashi claims she had determined even by that time that she did not want to live only to make money, nor was she interested in following the common path of young single women in her hometown to work long hours at a textile factory. See "Watashi no rirekisho," 44-45.

[4] He was arrested on suspicion of intent to commit criminal insurrection, and then sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Dairen for lèse majesté (*fukeizai*). Hirabayashi was brought in for questioning when Yamamoto was arrested, but later released. See Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," *HTZ*: 12, 340.

charity ward as her pregnancy neared its term. The daughter she delivered there, Akebono (アケボノ), died a mere two weeks after her birth.[5]

In Chapter One I discuss in more detail Hirabayashi's life upon returning to Tokyo alone the following year, when in 1926 she shared living quarters with Hayashi Fumiko (林芙美子) in a rooming house in Taishidō, Setagaya, adjacent to several writers and artists.[6] Hirabayashi was initially involved with the anarchist faction of the workers' and farmers' group of the proletarian literature movement, and published some of her early works in its journal, *Literary Front* (*Bungei Sensen* 『文芸戦線』)[7] and Hasegawa Shigure's (長谷川時雨) new journal of writing by women, *Women's Arts* (*Nyonin Geijutsu* 『女人芸術』).[8] Throughout, she continued to work a variety of menial jobs to support herself financially while she established herself as a writer. In 1927, Hirabayashi married proletarian activist and critic Kobori Jinji (小堀甚二), whom she had met through an introduction made by colleagues at *Literary Front*. Eventually, however, despite her marriage to a fellow activist, Hirabayashi's impatience with patriarchal party politics and intellectual faddishness led her to eschew long-term affiliations with any one faction of leftist political activism. As I detail in Chapter Two, Hirabayashi wrote literature and criticism until 1938, when, imprisoned in place of her husband, she

[5] Hirabayashi would later write about this experience in her related short stories "In a Charity Ward" ("Seryōshitsu nite") and "Throw It All Away!" ("Nagesuteyo!") See Hirabayashi Taiko, "Seryōshitsu nite," (「施療室にて」) in *HTZ*: 1, 93-105; originally published in *Bungei Sensen*, September 1927; and "Nagesuteyo!" (「投げ捨てよ！」) in *HTZ*: 1, 66-78; originally published in *Liberation* (*Kaihō* 『解放』), March 1927.

[6] These neighbors included the young Tsuboi Sakae (壷井栄), recently arrived in the city, and her husband, the poet and critic Tsuboi Shigeji (壺井繁治). See Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko* (Kodansha Bungei Bunko, 2003) 81.

[7] *Literary Front* superseded *The Sower* (*Tanemaku hito* 『種巻く人』), from June 1924 to July 1932 (excepting the period from January to May 1925). See Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," *HTZ*: 12, 339-346.

[8] *Women's Arts* was published from July 1923 for two issues, and then again from July 1928 through July 1932.

contracted a respiratory disease that effectively put a stop to her literary and political work for the next eight years while she recovered. After the Pacific War, Hirabayashi's renewed postwar career saw the publication of a series of successful semi-autobiographical works as well as several acclaimed works of gangster fiction. She continued on a prolific path as a writer even after her marriage to Kobori came to a dissonant end when he confessed his years of infidelity to her. Late in her life, she fought recurrent cancer and deteriorating health to research and write extended critical biographies of both Hayashi Fumiko and Miyamoto Yuriko.[9]

In marked contrast to Hirabayashi's working class background, Miyamoto Yuriko was born Chūjō Yuriko (中条百合子) in 1899 to an upper-middle class family in Tokyo, whose affluence later afforded her the opportunity to attend secondary schooling at the prestigious and historic Japan Women's University (Nihon Joshi Daigaku).[10] In 1916 she published a breakout short story, "The Flocks of the Poor"[11] ("Mazushiki hitobito no mure"), in *Central Review* (*Chūō Kōron* 『中央公論』), a leading publication venue for "pure literature" (*junbungaku*), in what was a startling turn of events at the time for a previously unpublished teenage girl. In 1918, without graduating from Japan Women's University, Chūjō left Japan to go to New York for a time with her father. There, she met Araki Shigeru (荒木茂), a Japanese expatriate graduate student of Columbia University fifteen years her senior, whom she decided to marry. They returned to Japan together in 1919 but their marriage suffered, and they divorced in 1924.

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[9] See Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," *HTZ*: 12, 395-398.
[10] Miyamoto studied at Japan Women's University (Nihon Joshi Daigaku) for one term in 1916. See Ōmori Sueko, "Nenpu," in *Miyamoto Yuriko zenshū: Bessatsu* (Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 2004), 16. (NB: *This more recent edition of Miyamoto's collected works, published in 33 vols. from 2000-2004, hereafter referred to as MYZ2:* [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers*.)
[11] Miyamoto Yuriko (Chūjō Yuriko), "Mazushiki hitobito no mure," originally published in *Chūō Kōron* (September 1916).

Miyamoto's arguably best-known work, the semi-autobiographical novel *Nobuko*, published serially from 1924-1926 and in a revised, bound version in 1928, addresses the love marriage of a woman named Nobuko (modeled after Yuriko) to a Japanese expatriate in New York named Tsukuda (modeled after Araki).[12] Around the same time as her marriage with Araki was coming to an end, the writer Nogami Yaeko (野上弥生子) introduced Yuriko to the Russian literature scholar and translator Yuasa Yoshiko (湯浅芳子). Yuasa and Yoshiko developed a very close relationship almost immediately, and eventually decided to travel to the Soviet Union together, where they lived together from 1927 to 1930.[13]

When Yuriko returned to Japan in 1930, her relationship with Yuasa was troubled. Yuriko almost immediately became active in the burgeoning proletarian cultural boom of the time, aligning herself with the Communist proletarian artists involved with the NAPF (Nippona Artista Proleta Federacio)[14] journal, *Battle Flag* (*Senki* 『戦旗』) and in 1931, becoming an editor of the proletarian journal *Working Woman* (*Hataraku Fujin* 『働く婦人』).[15] It was also in 1931 that she met future Communist Party chair Miyamoto

[12] See Miyamoto Yuriko (Chūjō Yuriko), *Nobuko*, *MYZ2*: 3, 5-358; and Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2010), 75-104.
[13] See Omori, "Nenpu," *MYZ2*: *Bessatsu*, 26-38.
[14] "NAPF" was the acronym for the Esperanto name of the organization, a translation of the Japanese *Zen Nippon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei* / *Zen Nippon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyōgikai* (全日本無産者芸術連盟・全日本無産者芸術団体協議会), which was active from 1928-1931. *Senki* would later be renamed *NAPF* before being dissolved in 1930. Ibid.
[15] Ibid.

Kenji (宮本顕治).[16] In a short span of time she then left Yuasa, and married Miyamoto in 1932.[17]

Though Miyamoto and Hirabayashi moved in overlapping circles of writers and activists in the early 1930s, and their life trajectories intersected most notably during the brief span of the proletarian literature movement, their ideological positions and opinions about literature, not to mention their class backgrounds and experiences of young adulthood, diverged significantly. Central among these divergences was Miyamoto's alignment with Bolshevism, in contrast to Hirabayashi's affiliation with the anarchist socialist faction (when she had any explicit affiliation as a writer). Miyamoto became involved with the journals *Battle Flag* and *Working Woman*, whereas Hirabayashi was affiliated with the competing faction's proletarian literary journal *Literary Front*.[18]

In her ideological proletarian literature and criticism before and during the Pacific War, and in her personal fidelity to her Communist party figurehead husband Kenji while he was imprisoned from 1933-1945 in a crackdown on Communists, Miyamoto exhibited a sustained allegiance to that party's ideology.[19] Hirabayashi, on the other hand, came to eschew active socialist political affiliations despite continuing to engage with selected political issues as an individual, such as her support of movements for women's and ethnic minorities' rights, freedom of speech, and the abolition of prostitution. Hirabayashi and Miyamoto continually clashed over their disparate approaches toward literature and

[16] Miyamoto Kenji became the chair of the Japan Communist Party in 1958, and was a party leader into the 1990s. See Suzuki, 79.
[17] See Omori, "Nenpu," in *MYZ2: Bessatsu*, 38-43.
[18] Hirabayashi published fiction and essays in *Bungei Sensen* from 1925 to 1930. She first submitted stories to the journal for consideration in late 1924. See Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko nenpu," *HTZ:* 12, 340-347.
[19] See "Miyamoto Yuriko nenpu" in Sawada Akiko, ed., *Sakka no jiden 46: Miyamoto Yuriko*, (Nihon Tosho Sentaa, 1997) 256-258.

life as women writers, with Miyamoto's rigid Communist ideological allegiances pitted against Hirabayashi's individual, anarchistic feminist perspective.

Miyamoto Yuriko on Modern Japanese Women Writers: *Women and Literature*

Women and Literature: Modern Japanese Women Writers (*Fujin to bungaku: Kindai Nihon no fujin sakka*) was the title given to a collection of essays that Miyamoto Yuriko researched and wrote during the Pacific War on women writers since the start of the Meiji period. She prepared these essays, serializing them when publishing restrictions allowed, in between her periods of imprisonment during the 12-year span when Kenji was imprisoned. The essays were originally serialized from the spring of 1939 to the autumn of 1940 in the journals *Central Review*, *Reconstruction* (*Kaizō* 『改造』*)*, and *Literary Arts* (*Bungei* 『文藝』).[20] After the end of the war, they were eventually published in book form by Jitsugyō no Nihonsha in 1948. For that edition, Miyamoto made revisions and added a preface and a final essay entitled "Toward Tomorrow" ("Ashita e.")[21]

This 262-page book was Miyamoto's longest work of literary criticism. Miyamoto claimed she was motivated to write the first essay in the series when she happened to read a memoir of Miyake Kaho (三宅花圃), in which Miyake described Higuchi Ichiyō (樋口一葉). Miyamoto was impressed by the contrasts between those two

[20] Some essays' original titles were changed when collected as a volume. The first essay, "Seifū omomuro ni fukikitatte" was published as part of "Hito no sugata" in the May 1939 issue of *Chūō Kōron*, and then along with the essay "Yabu no uguisu" in the July 1939 issue of *Kaizō*. The rest of the essays were serialized in *Bungei* in the following issues: "Mijikai tsubasa" (August 1939); "Irimidareta habataki" (September 1939); "Bunryū" (October 1939); "Kono kishibe ni wa" (November 1939); "Uzushio" (December 1939); "Hiroi shibuki" (February 1940); "Hitoppeeji no ue ni" (March 1940); "Awase kagami" (April 1940); "Tentetsu" (June 1940); "Ningen no zō" (August 1940); and "Shikashi ashita he" (October 1940). For more details of the publishing history of *Fujin to bungaku*, see Ōmori Sueko, ed., "Kaidai," *MYZ*: 12, 440-441; and Miyamoto Yuriko, "Maegaki," *MYZ*: 12, 213-215.

[21] Ōmori Sueko, ed., "Kaidai," *MYZ*: 12, 440-441; and Miyamoto Yuriko, "Maegaki," *MYZ*: 12, 213-215.

women writers of the Meiji period, and found herself wanting to know more about the women writing before and after Ichiyō's time. As she states in the preface, what resulted from this effort was "likely inadequate from the perspective of bibliography, and was never perfect as literary history, either, but, it was able to get at an overview of some of the vicissitudes modern Japanese society, and the intertwined fortunes of women writers."[22]

Each essay in *Women and Literature* moves from a discussion of the male literary establishment at a given moment, to an overview of women's historical situations in that period, to commentary on individual women writers. Hirabayashi and her works appear multiple times, and in prominent positions within the essays in which they appear. Miyamoto's treatments of Hirabayashi include negative criticisms that link flaws in her writing style and choice of literary content to Hirabayashi's character.

Women and Literature presents a rigidly dogmatic defense of Communist ideals of proletarian literature, and later, democratic literary ideals in the postwar period. This defensive rhetoric defines Miyamoto's personal trajectory as a writer in terms of an unimpeachable awakening, in 1930, to the merits of proletarian realism and class-consciousness. Such a view contrasts with the argument most strongly voiced by Hirabayashi, that Miyamoto's proletarian awakening was unnecessary and inauthentic, given her upper middle-class upbringing. For example, where Miyamoto discusses the emergence of the proletarian literature movement in the 1920s, she focuses on critic Fujimori Seikichi's (藤森成吉) essay "A Theory of Proletarian Arts" ("Musankaikyū

[22] 「文献的にみれば不十分であろうし、文芸史としても、もとより完璧ではないけれども、近代日本の社会が辿って来た精神の幾山河と、そこに絡む婦人作家の運命について或る概観はつかむことが出来た。」 See *MYZ*: 12, 214.

bungeiron"), and showcases his definition of proletarian literature in such a way as to clearly show how his argument vindicates her position as a writer of proletarian literature born into the upper middle class.[23]

The first of Miyamoto's two major discussions of Hirabayashi appears in the essay "Broad Splashes" ("Hiroi shibuki") covering the years 1923 to 1926, and addresses Hirabayashi's proletarian literary works.[24] As the last, and longest, discussion of any woman writer in the essay, the section on Hirabayashi extends to five of the total eighteen pages. Miyamoto traces the turbulent events of Hirabayashi's early years and how they were reflected (or inflected) in her early literary works. This section reviews Hirabayashi's "Throw It All Away!" ("Nagesuteyo!"), "In a Charity Ward" ("Seryōshitsu nite"), and "Self-Mockery" ("Azakeru"), while also referencing "Sad Love" ("Kanashiki aijō"),[25] and the fact that she wrote detective stories in her attempt to make a living as a writer after working as a telephone switchboard operator and waitress.

Miyamoto placed her second major treatment of Hirabayashi in a similarly prominent position within the collection's final essay, "Toward Tomorrow," which covers the years from 1941 to 1947. Here, Hirabayashi appears first among the women writers Miyamoto addresses, and the examination of her covers four pages, in an essay totaling 22 pages.[26] (The only other writer from the Taishō and Shōwa periods to whom Miyamoto devotes as many pages in this essay collection is Sata Ineko (佐多稲子), her Bolshevik comrade in the proletarian literature movement.) Then, near the closing of her

[23] See *MYZ*: 12, 338-339.
[24] See "Hiroi shibuki" in *MYZ*: 12, 333-351.
[25] Hirabayashi Taiko, "Nagesuteyo!" *Kaihō, Vol.6 No.4* (March 1, 1927) 46-66; Hirabayashi Taiko, "Seryōshitsu nite," *Bungei Sensen, Vol.4 No.9* (September 1, 1927) 141-155; Hirabayashi Taiko, "Azakeru," [Originally titled "Zanpin"] *Gunjō – Asahi Shinbunsha kenshō tōsen tanpenshōsetsushū* (Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, April 5, 1928) 341-403; and Hirabayashi Taiko, "Kanashiki aijō," *Shinsen puroretaria bungaku sōshū* (Naukasha, October 17, 1935).
[26] See "Ashita e" in *MYZ*: 12, 413-435.

initial discussion of Hirabayashi's early works, Miyamoto characterizes Hirabayashi as follows: "[o]ne characteristic of writer Hirabayashi Taiko runs through her story collection titled *In A Charity Ward* and continues to the present day, and that is her abiding gift for protest, against herself and others."[27] This personal pronouncement follows Miyamoto's harsh takedown of "Sad Love," the last of a series of mercurial critiques of Hirabayashi's works.

Even while she praised Hirabayashi's "Self-Mockery," Miyamoto found room to question the ease with which its female protagonist decided to turn to sex as means to make money. Then, in her critique of the story "Sad Love," Miyamoto dismisses the work almost outright, finding it absolutely unbelievable that the female protagonist might here, again, have no option but to engage in the labor of informal prostitution to make money. Miyamoto critiques the story from the perspective of what she believes proletarian literature ought to depict -- that is, the "true" reality of society and its laborers.[28] She claims that Hirabayashi uses the story to willfully reject those proletarian literary ideals, and throw them back in the face of the movement from which she was at that time growing distant. "Re-reading this work through society and literature and history, it can be understood that the author's aim was not to set out from a simple love, with workers' feelings portrayed as realistically as possible, but rather, to go against what has been idealized on one hand by proletarian literature, and display, in her work, something opposite under a powerful spotlight, and to say, '*This* is reality.'"[29]

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[27] 「作家平林たい子の一つの特色は『施療室にて』一巻を貫き、そして現在につづいている根づよい自他に対する抗議の資質である。」 See *MYZ*: 12, 351.
[28] Ibid.
[29] 「この作品を社会と文学との歴史の中において読みかえすと、作者の意図は、勤労する者の感情をどこまでもリアリスティックに描き出したいという単一な愛から出発しているより、寧ろ、プロレタリア文学の一方で或る理想化が行われているのに対して、これが現実だ、と反対の一つ

In her final essay, Miyamoto describes Hirabayashi's prolific return to publishing after a long period of serious illness lasting most of the war. While Miyamoto praises the realistic details Hirabayashi included in her diary of the end of the war, "Shūsen nikki,"[30] she is not impressed by the postwar story "Going Alone" ("Hitori yuku,")[31] which she sees as overly sentimental. Mincing no words, Miyamoto says of the latter story: "At last we could write just as we wanted without fear of censorship. The greater this fierce joy, the writer's joy and exultation, the more it just makes her trip over her tongue, and she drowns herself in her own emotions."[32] She proceeds to call the story "immature" and further criticizes it as the author's egotistical celebration of being able to live after surviving her illness and the war. Miyamoto's final statement about Hirabayashi advises the "hot-blooded, stubborn writer"[33] to add more objective portrayals to the "overly subjective"[34] stories "Going Alone" and "This Kind of Woman" ("Kōiu onna")[35] so that they could continue to exhibit the kind of new literary meaning Hirabayashi had achieved in Miyamoto's favorite work of hers, "In a Charity Ward."[36]

In *Women and Literature*, Miyamoto narrates a progression of modern women's writing in Japan according to proletarian and democratic literary ideals. Similarly, Miyamoto calls for the realization of progressive, social democratic ideals in the lives of women writers and their female readers. Miyamoto executed a subtle, yet forceful

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のものを自分の作品によって強烈なスポット・ライトの下に提示しようとしたところにあるように理解される。」 See *MYZ*: 12, 350.

[30] Hirabayashi Taiko, "Shūsen nikki" (Originally titled "Shūsen nisshi,") *Chūō Kōron Vol.61, No.2* (February 1, 1946) 79-85.

[31] Hirabayashi Taiko, "Hitori yuku," *(Bessatsu) Bungei Shunjū Vol.24, No.2* (February 1, 1946) 68-91.

[32] 「久しぶりで検閲をおそれず思うとおりにものが書ける。この激しい歓びは、作者の歓びと雀躍とが大きければ大きいほど、却って作者を舌たらずにし、感動に溺れさせる。」 See *MYZ*: 12, 423.

[33] 「粘りづよい体温のたかいこの作者」 Ibid., 426.

[34] 「主観的になりすぎた」 Ibid., 423.

[35] Hirabayashi Taiko, "Kōiu onna," *Tenbō No.10* (October 1, 1946) 92-127.

[36] See *MYZ*: 12, 426.

criticism of Hirabayashi in *Women and Literature* by keeping her ideological "enemy" Hirabayashi closer than even her friends (namely, those women writers with whom she was known to share ideological sympathies, such as Sata Ineko and Tsuboi Sakae). She achieved this by positioning Hirabayashi prominently in her essays on Taishō and Shōwa women writers, and by critiquing Hirabayashi's works in terms of what she considered to be their ideological shortcomings.

Hirabayashi Taiko's *Miyamoto Yuriko*: The Last Word(s)

Miyamoto Yuriko, Hirabayashi's final extended work, was serialized in *Bessatsu Bungei Shunjū* from 1971 to 1972, and published posthumously by Bungei Shunjū in 1972 as part of an eponymous volume containing several other of Hirabayashi's essays unrelated but for their dates of appearance.[37] *Miyamoto Yuriko* prominently addresses Hirabayashi's view of her fellow woman writer while providing a biographical sketch of Miyamoto's life and works. In crafting her biographical sketch Hirabayashi referred mainly to textual sources published after Miyamoto's death -- such as *The World of Miyamoto Yuriko* (*Miyamoto Yuriko no sekai*, 1951) by Miyamoto Kenji, literary critic Honda Shūgo's (本多秋五) *A Study of Miyamoto Yuriko* (*Miyamoto Yuriko kenkyū*, 1957) and the memoirs of Miyamoto's longtime female partner Yuasa Yoshiko.[38]

As a work of autobiographical criticism, Hirabayashi's *Miyamoto Yuriko* presents a dense critique of the ways in which Miyamoto's semi-autobiographical novels

[37] Hirabayashi died on February 17, 1972. *Miyamoto Yuriko* was serialized in *Bessatsu Bungei Shunjū* in the following volumes: *Vol. 117* (September 5, 1971), *Vol. 118* (December 5, 1971), and Vol.119 (March 5, 1972). *Miyamoto Yuriko* was reissued in 2003, along with Hirabayashi's critical biography *Hayashi Fumiko*, as a single volume (ひ F2) in the popular Kōdansha Bungei Bunko paperback series. See Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko* (Kōdansha, 2003). See Hirabayashi Taiko, *Miyamoto Yuriko* (Bungei Shunjū, June 20, 1972).

[38] See Hirabayashi, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko*, 275.

selectively portray the realities of her life.[39] From the very opening passage, the level of attention to minor details[40] immediately suggests Hirabayashi's interest in Miyamoto's background, as well as her curiosity about the connections between Miyamoto's life and works. However, it's not yet clear how much of her interest in Miyamoto's life circumstances lies in the service of performing a reading of her (largely semi-autobiographical) fiction, and how much has to do with other, more personal motivations like rancor or competitiveness. Several sections later in the text add variety and a lighter tone to Hirabayashi's initial detail-laden portrayal of Miyamoto, including some lively anecdotes and personal commentary on Miyamoto.

For example, Hirabayashi describes an opportunity she had to visit Yuriko and Yuasa Yoshiko's home along with a few other writers, soon after the two had returned from their extended residence in the Soviet Union. At one point, Hirabayashi made a comment that, "No matter what novel it's in, writing about the love between a parent and

[39] When serialized, this work was originally entitled *Miyamoto Yuriko, a Novel* (*Shōsetsu Miyamoto Yuriko*). Here Hirabayashi engages with the "I-novel critical discourse" as described by Tomi Suzuki – in this sense, a mode of reading (and critiquing) the modern Japanese "I-novel" (or *shishōsetsu*) which anticipates a mix of genuine autobiographical and fictionalized elements contained therein, and seeks to discern these elements from one another in evaluating the success of the work. See Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 1996) 3, 6-8, 10.

[40] The opening passage reads as follows (recall that Miyamoto's maiden name is Chūjō): "It is said that the Chūjō family were originally a family of chief retainers in the Yonezawa domain. The grandfather, Masatsune, became the mayor of the city of Yonezawa, planned the cultivation of the Asaka grasslands as a demonstration for the Fukushima Prefectural Office, and found success in drainage construction, drawing water from Inawashiru-ko Lake. The scene that appears briefly in the novel *Sanshirō* where they measure the depth of the water in the lake was based on this construction project. / And yet, Masatsune was unable to realize his ambition, so he left the bureaucracy in the midst of this and moved to Kaiseiyama. It is said that he was swayed by the appeals of the peasants. It is unclear what relationship Masatsune had with the peasants once there. But to imagine from the works Yuriko wrote, it can be thought that he held a supervisory position, renting out arable land and teaching agricultural wisdom." 「中条家はもと米沢藩の筆頭家老の家柄だったという。祖父政恒は米沢市長となり、福島県庁典事として安積草原の耕地化を企てて猪苗代湖の水をひく疎水工事に成功した。小説「三郎爺」に一寸出てくる湖の水深をはかる場面がこの工事の様相を語っている。／しかし、政恒は志を得ず、中余から官界を出て開成山に移り住んだ。農民の懇請によったのだという。ここで、政恒が農民とどういう関係だったか詳でない。けれども、百合子のかいたものから想像するに、耕資をかしたり農事智識を教えたりする管理者的立場だったと思われる。」 See Hirabayashi, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko*, 167.

a child always makes me cry, I can't help it." To this Miyamoto – a new member of the Communist Party whom Hirabayashi mockingly labels a "complete left-wing lady" – purportedly replied, "The love between a parent and a child is a sentiment of the past. We must clear away such things as soon as possible."[41] Hirabayashi claimed to have been too young and too much in awe of Miyamoto's presence at the time to make a rebuttal. The anecdote conveys the way in which, even as younger writers engaging in conversation with one another, Hirabayashi and Miyamoto didn't see eye to eye.

Hirabayashi ends Part One of her Miyamoto biography with a sharp pair of sentences that cut through some of the denser passages and add momentum to the text. Miyamoto claimed to want to travel to the Soviet Union using her own funds, despite her upper-class family background and in contrast to her partner Yuasa's open reliance on money from her family, but Hirabayashi is clearly not impressed. Rather, she implies that Miyamoto's ostensibly noble motivations constitute a charade of self-reliance: "To convince your parents to give you money is of course typical of a rich girl, but to stubbornly refuse to take money your parents make available to you is just as typical of a rich girl."[42] With these frank statements critical of Miyamoto's character and behavior, Hirabayashi ramps up the pace as well as the personal antagonism of the text.

Hirabayashi may not have agreed with Miyamoto's fateful decision to embrace socialism and proletarian literature, but she was willing to acknowledge their right to different opinions about the liberating potential of leftist political thought. Still, what

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[41] 「その頃はもう、百合子は、完全な左翼婦人で、私が『子供の死ぬことがかいてあるとどんな小説でも私は泣けて仕方がない』と告白したのに対して『親子の情などというものは、過去の感情だ。われわれはそんなものを早く清算してしまわなくてはならない』と百合子が言った。」 See Hirabayashi, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko*, 197.

[42] 「親からずるずると金を出して貰って行くのは勿論金持の娘らしい行動だが、出して貰える親から出して貰わないと依怙地になるのも金持の娘らしい。」 Ibid., 204.

most irked Hirabayashi seems to have been the attempt by Miyamoto Kenji and his ideological comrades to rewrite the details of Miyamoto's life after her death in such a way as to further obscure her upper-middle class background and her non-proletarian literary activity. As Hirabayashi wrote, "… it wasn't that Yuriko longed for socialism as her own liberation, she wanted to have socialism so she could give it to someone else. That's fine. I read debates about Yuriko that took place after her death, and 'The World of Miyamoto Yuriko' written by her husband Miyamoto Kenji, and I think, don't those excuses just undermine Yuriko's true worth?"[43]

This closing passage sardonically conveys the force of Hirabayashi's convictions about her "rival," as it points out the paradoxes Miyamoto Yuriko faced in her struggles as a writer, a wife, and a socialist. "In the end, I think she shouldn't have fallen in among the proletarian writers. If she had been liberated from the exigencies of reality, to float freely on a cloud, to swim underwater and sing of her life, I wonder what an amazing writer she would have been. But, if that were the case, she wouldn't have met Miyamoto Kenji, and wouldn't have had that chance to sound the song of her heart. In the end, perhaps this kind of hypothesizing is too highbrow."[44]

Hirabayashi's *Miyamoto Yuriko* was largely considered her swan song, a fitting final work that represented, in the form of literary criticism, her widely acknowledged

[43] 「これは、やはり、百合子が、社会主義を自分一身の解放として憧れる立場になく、誰だのために社会主義を獲得して贈ってやりたい立場にあったことを如実に語っている。私はそれでよいと思う。百合子の死後に起った百合子に対する論争や夫宮本顕治がかいている『宮本百合子の世界』などをよむと、かえってその弁解の部分が百合子の真価を損ねていはしないかと思う。」 Ibid., 172.

[44] 「が、やはり私は彼女は、プロレタリヤ作家の中に自らはまり込むべきではなかったと思う。彼女が、現実の当為から解放されて、自由に雲に浮び、水に潜って人生を歌ったなら、どんなすばらしい作家であったろう。しかし、そうすれば、宮本顕治との出会いもなくなり、彼女の心の絃を鳴らすきっかけもなくなるわけだ。やはりこうした仮定は高踏的にすぎるだろうか。」 Ibid., 275.

strength for speaking her mind openly. Several critics have since recounted, with a mixture of awe and admiration, the indomitable figure Hirabayashi presented as she fought cancer, chronic illness, and failing eyesight to complete this text in its serialized form.[45] What resulted from this last powerful effort was an uneven but forceful critique of Miyamoto and a condemnation of posthumous attempts to enshrine her, along with the proletarian literature movement figurehead Kobayashi Takiji (小林多喜二), as a Communist Party martyr.[46] Hirabayashi's intermittent praise for Miyamoto's semi-autobiographical novels does little to mitigate the force of this condemnation.

Hirabayashi makes clear her personal disputes with Miyamoto, calling Miyamoto out on the unacknowledged petit bourgeois elements in her writing, and for seeming to have looked to the authority of the Soviet Union to find her reasons for joining in the proletarian cultural movement, rather than making her decision based upon her own experiences in Japan. (In this sense, Hirabayashi's critique echoes the critic Yoshimoto Takaaki's (吉本隆明) argument in "On Ideological Conversion" ("Tenkōron,")[47] that writers like Miyamoto Kenji, Miyamoto Yuriko, and Kobayashi Takiji [小林多喜二], who supposedly never committed ideological conversion [*tenkō*] should in fact be

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[45] Hirano Ken's comments to this effect are paraphrased in a review of *Miyamoto Yuriko* from the *Asahi Shinbun*. See "Onna no 'haba' hirogeta shūnen, Hirabayashi Taiko cho *Miyamoto Yuriko*," *Asahi Shinbun* (morning edition, no byline, July 17, 1972) 11. Similar comments made by Hirabayashi's editor at Bungei Shunjū are collected in Iwahashi Kunie, "Kaisetsu: Jikkanteki hyōden no kessaku," in Hirabayashi, *Hayashi Fumiko Miyamoto Yuriko*, 287.

[46] Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933) was a working-class writer who had had access to limited higher education, thanks to the support of a wealthy relative. He wrote proletarian literature, most notably the 1929 short story "The Crab Cannery Ship" ("Kanikōsen"). He was imprisoned from mid-1930 to early 1931 during the crackdown on Communism that led to the dissolution of the proletarian literature movement by 1932. In 1933 he was ambushed by police spies who then tortured him to death. "Kanikōsen" was published in the May-August 1929 issue of *Senki*. See Isoda Kōichi, ed., *Shōwa bungaku arubamu (I): Shinchō Nihon arubamu bekkan 3* (Shinchōsha, 1986) 33-34, 56-59.

[47] See Yoshimoto Takaaki, "Tenkōron," *Gendai Hihyō no. 1* (November 1958); Hisaaki Wake, trans., Yoshimoto Takaaki, "On *Tenkō*, or Ideological Conversion," in *Review of Japanese Culture and Society, Vol. XX*, *Special Issue: The Culture of Translation in Modern Japan* (Josai University, December 2008) 99-119.

considered just as guilty of apostasy [that is, a lapse of personal integrity] as those ideological converts, since their avoidance of ideological conversion stemmed from little more than blind allegiance to foreign ideologies, while they remained willfully ignorant of their relation to the real conditions of contemporary Japan.) *Miyamoto Yuriko* was written twenty years after its subject's death, so the question of rivalry was perhaps not what motivated Hirabayashi to bring pen to paper at that point, but nevertheless, the text displays an abundance of antagonism, disdain, and rancor toward its subject. It also exhibits Hirabayashi's attack on the failings of Miyamoto's personal integrity, in a delayed response to Miyamoto's suggestion, in *Women and Literature*, that Hirabayashi ought to somehow infuse her later writing with the ideology of class struggle. Whereas Miyamoto considered it more ethical to represent the ideology of class struggle in literature, Hirabayashi's interest in the kinds of subjective portrayals of her protagonists that Miyamoto roundly criticized suggest the depths of their fundamental disagreements on the relationship between literature, politics, class, and the gender divide.

In a review of *Miyamoto Yuriko* published in the *Asahi Shinbun* around the time of its publication as a monograph, a reviewer found the work to be harsh, to display unreasonable animosity toward Miyamoto, and to be too sweeping in its condemnation of Miyamoto as a person. The reviewer called the figure of Hirabayashi that emerged as the work's author "atrocious," and closed the review suggesting that Hirabayashi, who had been known to claim she "valued good writing, even if it was petit bourgeois or perfectly bourgeois" would surely have been chagrined at the rough-hewn quality of her own work

in its posthumously published form.[48] This review also contributes to the image of Miyamoto and Hirabayashi's relationship as a rivalry.

Two Approaches to Writing About Women (Writers)

I believe that what stands out about Hirabayashi's critical writings is not the degree of vehemence with which she pursued her points, but the broad scope of her subjects of criticism, and her choice to write about writers individually. Even a cursory glance at the titles of Hirabayashi's collected works reveals the frequency with which she wrote about writers as individuals in discrete essays. These works include many essays entitled "On [so-and-so],"[49] about both men and women who were writers and public figures, not to mention her critical biographies, directly titled *Hayashi Fumiko* and *Miyamoto Yuriko*. Hirabayashi was not at all shy about interpellating the subjects of her critical writings in her titles. Indeed, she seems to have been most often motivated to write about those people with whom she had some kind of acquaintance, and to then enliven her discussion with personal vignettes.

In contrast to Hirabayashi's approach, Miyamoto chose to consider women writers within the larger context of history, and therefore treated them as a collective group. We can see this in the broad focus of the title *Women and Literature*; in her decision to write a history of modern women writers spanning from the Meiji period to

[48] See "Onna no 'haba' hirogeta shūnen, Hirabayashi Taiko cho *Miyamoto Yuriko.*"
[49] See Hirabayashi, "An Autobiographical Record of Acquaintances / "Real Profiles of Writers" ("Jidenteki kōyūroku / Jikkanteki sakkaron" 「自伝的交友録・実感的作家論」) in *HTZ*: 10, 147-250. This work includes such essays as "Hayashi Fusao and I" (「林房雄さんと私」), "On Uno Chiyo," (「宇野千代論」), "On Mishima Yukio," (「三島由紀夫論」), "On Kōda Aya" (「幸田文論」); See also Hirabayashi, "Shimoda Utako" (「下田歌子」) in the section entitled "Profiles" ("Jinbutsuron"「人物論」) in *HTZ*: 11, 357-366; and Hirabayashi, "A Record of Taiko's Acquaintances" ("Taiko kōyūroku" 「たい子交友録」) in *HTZ*: 12, 217-226, which includes sections entitled "Enchi Fumiko-san" (「円地文子さん」) and "Ono Ashihei-san" (「小野葦平さん」).

the present day; and in the structure of the essays, which situate women writers within a narrative of modern Japanese literary history in which the discussion of male writers' debates and styles always precedes the discussion of women writers. In this sense, Miyamoto writes about women (writers) within the genre of literary history, with a tendency toward objective, broad contextualization, whereas Hirabayashi performed autobiographical criticism, treating the work of criticism, whether of men or women, as a necessarily subjective endeavor that conveys an individual perspective enriched by personal anecdotes.

Although they do not always explicitly frame their arguments using the term "integrity," both Hirabayashi and Miyamoto understand their work in terms of its moral defensibility as an appropriate way of writing, and they seem to evaluate themselves as writers in terms of their ethical stances toward living as a woman and as a writer. At moments when they notice each other straying from the path they consider legitimate (and therefore appropriate), each writer critiques the other in a way that blends their abstract, intellectual debate on writers' rhetorical stances with the concrete, personal realm of individual integrity. Thus, Hirabayashi's critique encompasses both abstract considerations of Miyamoto's success as a writer and personal commentary on the integrity of Miyamoto's choices as an individual (woman) who chooses to be a writer. Similarly, Miyamoto comments on Hirabayashi's success as a writer in terms of her ability to weave proletarian literary elements into her writing, while also critiquing Hirabayashi's emotionality and her nonconformist attitude toward some traditional expectations of women in society. Thus, what gets convoluted in the consideration of Miyamoto and Hirabayashi's relationship and writing is the way in which two important

evaluative frameworks overlap: the intellectual critique of a writer's professional integrity with regard to ideological (political) allegiances, and the personal critique of a woman's private ethics of self-conduct with regard to gender norms and sexual politics.

Inscribing Hirabayashi and Miyamoto as 'Rivals'

By characterizing Miyamoto and Hirabayashi as rivals, critics implied that the two were in competition for some (possibly nonexistent) top position among writers. An unstated corollary of the label "rivals" was that the two writers belonged to the competitive sphere of (only) "women writers" – i.e., the "women's literary establishment" (*joryū bundan*) – in a way that enforced the gendered spheres of literary activity. Hirabayashi and Miyamoto's particular combination of ideological oppositions, paired with their divergent socioeconomic circumstances, may also have contributed toward their characterization as rivals. It is also possible that a term such as "lifelong rival"[50] might have appealed to critics as a way to frame a relationship among women writers primarily in terms of an exaggerated emotionality, perpetuating a stereotypical portrayal of women as ruled by their emotions. That stereotype may have also been mobilized to bait readers who, having followed Hirabayashi and Miyamoto's semi-autobiographical "I-novels" (*shishōsetsu*), would have been primed to desire access to further details of Hirabayashi and Miyamoto's personal lives.

Still, although Hirabayashi and Miyamoto acknowledged their ideological antagonism during their lifetimes, most of the outside characterizations of Hirabayashi and Miyamoto as rivals took place close to or after Miyamoto's death, and referred to the writers' competitive positions while at their respective peaks of popularity in the postwar

[50] See Iwahashi, "Kaisetsu: Jikkanteki hyōden no kessaku," 285.

era. After Miyamoto's death, Hirabayashi spoke frankly about her past difficulties communicating with Miyamoto, describing their relationship as "not very friendly," and detailing the frequency with which their encounters would turn to bickering, or arguments.[51]

Hirabayashi's known associations with anarchists, her rejection of hypocrisy in life (such as sexism within socialist groups) and literature (bourgeois writers superficially adopting proletarian literary vogues), and her renown in the literary establishment for fierce critical prowess purportedly inspired fear in her more timid fellow writers. A caricature of a mature Hirabayashi besting her opponent in a sumo match accompanied a brief article on Hirabayashi from the *Asahi Shinbun* in 1953.[52] The illustration visually represents this common perception of Hirabayashi as a threatening adversary. Not only does the kimono-clad Hirabayashi present a larger and more daunting physical presence than her male sumo wrestler opponent (which of course can also be taken as a jab at her figure), she has two feet firmly planted inside the sanctified space of the sumo wrestling ring – to which women are officially prohibited entry – and she is depicted pushing the sumo wrestler out of the ring to win the match. Clearly, Hirabayashi was seen as an intimidating intellectual opponent and a transgressive woman, and part of this public image may have lent itself to the ease with which she was labeled a "rival" of her fellow woman writer Miyamoto. As a persona charged with a fighting spirit, Hirabayashi was

[51] See Hirabayashi Taiko and Nogami Yaeko, "Miyamoto Yuriko: The Person," ("Ningen: Miyamoto Yuriko" 「人間・宮本百合子」), reprinted in *Nogami Yaeko zenshū*, *Bekkan* 1 (Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 163-181. Originally published in *Literary World* (*Bungakkai,* 『文学界』) Vol. 5, No. 4, April 1, 1951, 166-177.

[52] See the illustration accompanying the article "Different Strokes: Hirabayashi Taiko -- Always Full of Fight and Unbridled Womanliness" (「人さまざま：平林たい子　つねに闘志満つ あふれる女らしさ」), *Asahi Shinbun* ([Tokyo] Evening edition, January 20, 1953) 6.

seen as a kind of warrior always defending her beliefs, and confidently challenging those with whom she disagreed.

I have pointed out that within Miyamoto and Hirabayashi's criticism of one another can be found overlapping debates that question each writer's ideological or political integrity as an intellectual, as well as her personal ethics as a woman (who is also writer). This leads to the conflation of intellectual confrontation in one (professional) sphere – such as the debate over fidelity to ideological goals in literature – with emotional confrontation in another (personal, female-coded) sphere – such as rivalry or relationships of personal antagonism among women writers. Although Hirabayashi and Miyamoto perform the critical work of (women) writers at the intellectual level of their male counterparts, their conflict is labeled a "rivalry" distinguished by the pair's most emotional highs and lows. According to this view, Hirabayashi and Miyamoto critique one another not as "intellectuals" contributing to the literary debates of their time, but as "rivals" who serve as one another's competition.

Epilogue: "The Legacy of an Early Shōwa Literary Network: Hirabayashi Taiko and Enchi Fumiko"

In the essay collection *The Serendipity Mandala* (*Kien mandara* 『奇縁まんだら』, 2007-2008), Setouchi Jakuchō shares stories of writers and artists she has come to know over the course of her long life as a writer.[1] Many of these stories she has told before, and yet her readership has seemed to show no signs of tiring of their recounting.[2]

[1] See Setouchi Jakuchō, Yokoo Tadanori (illus.), *Kien mandara*, (Nihon Keizai Shinbun Shuppansha, 2008). Setouchi Jakuchō (1922 -), who before becoming a Buddhist nun in 1973 was known by the pen name Setouchi Harumi, has long served as a chronicler of modern Japanese literature, with a particular emphasis on women's writing. She has written several biographies of modern Japanese women writers including Tamura Toshiko (田村俊子) and Okamoto Kanoko (岡本かの子), and a large number of essays and memoirs referencing key figures and episodes in the modern Japanese literary establishment. Her own career as a novelist mainly spanned the years 1950 to 1980, although throughout her career (and especially since taking the tonsure) she has published a wide variety of works including essays, memoirs, travelogues, spiritual guides, and modern translations of classical Japanese literature (including even the formidable *Tale of Genji*). See "Setouchi Jakuchō ryaku nenpu" in Ozaki Mariko, *Setouchi Jakuchō ni kiku Jakuchō bungakushi* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2009) 334-349. She was a slightly younger contemporary of the writers I study in network here who began their careers in the early Shōwa period, a qualification which has surely boosted her popularity as a commentator on Shōwa literary history. A large part of the appeal of Setouchi's narratives lies in her intimate perspective, whether as friend, colleague, or acquaintance of the writers and artists whose lives she chronicles. Setouchi has written about Hirabayashi in a variety of her works of this kind. She often discusses Hirabayashi as a lead-in to her common refrain celebrating the forceful, compelling women's writing of the early Shōwa period (usually in comparison to more contemporary women's writing). (Specifically, Setouchi linked Hirabayashi's lifelong resolution to write literature, even at the cost of enduring physical pain and sacrifice for the sake of her writing, with her formidable individual presence. These qualities Setouchi contrasted with the ephemerality of younger writers in later decades.) Another feature of Setouchi's style as a memoirist, likely also related to her popularity in that role, is her willingness to deal in appearances. Her typical portrait of Hirabayashi includes a jab at the writer's weight or looks, which serves to contrast with her admiring appraisals of Hirabayashi's bravery as a pioneering woman writer in the early Shōwa period and skill as a writer with a strong sense of self. See, for example, Setouchi, *Kien mandara*, 243-247; and Ozaki Mariko, 115.

[2] *Kien mandara* was serialized weekly in the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* from January 6, 2007 until January 5, 2008. In the foreword to *Kien mandara*, Setouchi gratefully acknowledges her essays' popularity among readers familiar with the Shōwa writers and artists of whom she writes. Building upon this, she exhorts younger readers unfamiliar with the subjects of her essays to come to know them and take pride in their contributions to Japanese culture. (「またこの人達を未知の若い読者たちにも、このすばらしい先達を覚えてほしい、この人たちの造った日本の文化を、改めて誇りにしてほしい気持でいっぱいである。」) With these pronouncements Setouchi perpetuates the idea that one important step on the path toward fully appreciating the works of modern Japanese writers is to familiarize oneself with their writers' personal lives. Her personal profiles in *Kien mandara* further enact this view of the inseparability of a modern author's life from (an understanding of) his or her writing. By situating her array of profiles as sites on a mandala of serendipitous encounters with her choice to title the collection *Kien mandara*, Setouchi maps her many encounters with a variety of writers and artists both as they constitute her personal path through life, and as they trace the borders of a broader creative sociality within which she circulated at different moments in her life. While we can interpret the (modern) "Japanese culture" Setouchi invokes to

In the first volume of the series, Hirabayashi Taiko appears as one of only two women Setouchi profiles among 21 modern writers and artists.[3] The essay on Hirabayashi moves from an account of Setouchi's experience as a newly admitted member of the Women Writers' Association attending one of their outings in the late 1950s, to a vignette of Hirabayashi's funeral service, also in the company of the association's members.[4]

Setouchi begins this essay by characterizing Hirabayashi as an elder of the Women Writers' Association and commenting on her figure. At a banquet with other association members, Hirabayashi is seated at the very center of the room with her legs crossed in front of her, unable to fully wrap her robe from the inn around her because of her weight. Weaving a literary perspective into her narrative, Setouchi claims to have had the feeling that Hirabayashi appeared as if the "female boss of the literary establishment, imposingly commanding authority over those around her" (「堂々として、辺りを圧し、文壇の女流大親分という感じだった」) as she presided over the Women Writers' Association gathering.[5] The word *oyabun* 親分, which I have translated here as "boss,"

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mean the literary and artistic works of those people she profiles, it can also refer to the community embodied by that group of writers and artists together – the mandala as creative sociality itself. Setouchi's perspective on modern Japanese literature, forged in the Taishō and Shōwa periods and posited on the centrality of autobiographical *shishōsetsu* writing to modern Japanese literature, structures her essays as she interweaves anecdotes from writers' personal lives with discussion (and evaluation) of their writings. [Although I do not address it in my synopsis of Setouchi's essay "Hirabayashi Taiko," she touches upon Hirabayashi's autobiographical works published in the early postwar ("Hitori yuku," "Kōiu onna," and "Watashi wa ikiru") even in this brief, heavily anecdotal piece. See Setouchi, *Kien Mandara*, 243-256.] Setouchi's adoption of this perspective also aligns with the fact that most of the writers she profiles actively engaged with the *shishōsetsu* mode. Setouchi's writing in *Kien mandara*, like her many other writings on modern Japanese writers, braids together literary biography, literary criticism, and literary history. These she ties together with insights her from her personal experiences as a writer and a member of literary communities such as the Joryū Bungakusha Kai. See Setouchi, *Kien mandara*, 8.

[3] The other woman writer featured in the first volume of *Kien mandara* is Uno Chiyo. In the second (*Kien mandara: zoku*), third (*Kien mandara: zoku no ni*), and fourth (*Kien mandara: owari*) volumes of the series, Setouchi features more women writers, such as Sata Ineko, Enchi Fumiko, Mori Mari (森茉莉), Ariyoshi Sawako (有吉佐和子), Ōba Minako (大庭みな子), and even Françoise Sagan, Simone de Beauvoir, and Pearl Buck. See Setouchi, "Uno Chiyo" in *Kien mandara*, 123-138.

[4] Setouchi, *Kien mandara*, 241-256.

[5] Ibid., 244.

refers to the head of a gangster organization, and it is not difficult to imagine that Setouchi was thus paying simultaneous homage to Hirabayashi's powerful presence and her successful foray into the predominantly male-authored genre of gangster fiction.[6] Setouchi feels especially insignificant as the newest, most junior member of this association with Hirabayashi as its senior member.[7]

As Setouchi sets the scene, Enchi Fumiko and Tsuboi Sakae sat on either side of Hirabayashi, with Sata Ineko sitting next to Tsuboi.[8] She comments on both Enchi's natural dignity and her professional successes. She also observes that Enchi seemed to defer to Hirabayashi by having her sit in the place reserved for the highest ranking member of the gathering, despite the fact that – according to Setouchi – Enchi was the more active and successful writer at the time.[9] Setouchi further recalls that although Hirabayashi's literary career had begun earlier than Enchi's, they were born just one day apart from one another, and Enchi had continuously relied upon Hirabayashi, even after

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[6] Setouchi claims she attended this outing in 1959, which would indicate that Hirabayashi was no longer chair of the Association at that point, having recently ceded the position to Enchi Fumiko. (Joryū Bungakusha Kai records state that Hirabayashi held the position of chair from 1955 to 1958.) Yet Setouchi's depiction of the seating arrangement seems to imply that Hirabayashi, seated in the center seat, was still the chair. What is certain is that Hirabayashi held a powerful status in the Association at that time, whether by actual executive status, seniority, or authority of experience. See Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007), 241.

[7] Establishing at the onset of her essay a contrast between herself and Hirabayashi on the levels of both size and seniority (or authority), Setouchi writes, "As a newcomer, I shrunk down and kept a low profile as much as possible." (「私は新参として小さくなり、つとめておとなしくしていた。」) Setouchi also claims she did have not one friend in the association at the time, and felt nervous accepting the association's invitation to join them on a trip to a hot spring sponsored by the publishing company Chūō Kōronsha. See Setouchi, *Kien mandara*, 243.

[8] In contrast, Setouchi sat at the very last ranked seat. Note that this seating arrangement also appears to reflect the hierarchy and range of Hirabayashi's relationships with Enchi, Tsuboi, and Sata, in that she was closest with Enchi (as measured by level of intimacy, or perhaps vulnerability, of their relationship, and frequency of personal acquaintance over time), followed by Tsuboi (as measured mainly by length of time acquainted), and then Sata (with whom she was relatively less well acquainted and whom she had known for slightly less time). It also maps out the close friendship between Tsuboi and Sata, and the role Tsuboi likely played as an intermediate figure connecting Hirabayashi and Sata.

[9] As mentioned above in Note 6, Enchi may have also held the position of association chair at this time, which alone would warrant her seating placement in the central most seat, which had in fact been given to Hirabayashi.

achieving her own literary success. With these remarks Setouchi conveys both her awe of, and sympathy for, Enchi's respect of Hirabayashi's seniority and authority among the women writers of their time.

The first part of this essay thus presents Setouchi as a young writer newly admitted to an association of women writers and humbled to observe the powerful bond between two of its most esteemed senior members.[10] Setouchi then moves on to depict Hirabayashi as she knew her at the end of her life, with a glimpse of the funeral held at Hirabayashi's home in 1972. Setouchi claims that "all of the women writers attended," ostensibly referring to the members of the Women Writers' Association.[11] The essay comes to a close with the image of these women writers assembled at Hirabayashi's home to honor her memory, taking in the garden view as Hirabayashi had so often done while writing there.

I recap Setouchi's essay on Hirabayashi by way of suggesting Enchi Fumiko as another node in the network of women writers examined in this study. Were the network centering around Hirabayashi expanded to include writers who began their literary careers in earnest after the Pacific War, Enchi would feature prominently, as she and Hirabayashi had a long-lived, meaningful, and well-known friendship.[12] The two brief

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[10] Tsuboi is presented in Setouchi's chapter next, as the shy, modest writer of the best-selling novel *Nijūshi no hitomi* (*Twenty-four Eyes*). That she was overweight was an early observation of Setouchi's about this writer as well. In keeping with her ranking of writers' appearances, Setouchi describes Sata Ineko here as the most attractive of the "great elder writers" (*dai senpai sakkatachi* 大先輩作家達) assembled. Sata's peaceful demeanor seems to have impressed Setouchi, particularly in contrast to her assertiveness, as when she made no qualms about ordering a male junior editor to stop when he attempted to pour her a drink of sake, crisply informing him he had no place doing so as a man who had not yet advanced in his career. Ibid., 244-246.

[11] Ibid., 256. See also Abe Namiko, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko* (Nichigai Asoshieetsu, 1985), 38.

[12] Enchi and Hirabayashi's friendship has received attention in (Japanese) literary biographies and literary histories of Hirabayashi and Enchi as individual writers, as well as in some works chronicling literary communities within which the two writers both spent time, such as (the writers affiliated with) the literary journal *Nyonin Geijutsu*, and the Women Writers' Association. See, for example, Ogata Akiko, *Nyonin*

episodes cited above from Setouchi's portrait of Hirabayashi both feature her conspicuous connection to Enchi. That is, in life, Enchi stood close by Hirabayashi, who was her equal in many ways (although she also showed her a slight deference).[13] Likewise, Hirabayashi considered Enchi a close friend throughout her life. In death, Enchi continued to bear witness to Hirabayashi's legacy, contributing to a number of efforts to preserve her and her works within the institutional memory of the literary establishment. These two aspects of Hirabayashi and Enchi's relationship – their willingness to support one another in times of hardship and their concern for each other as writers – suggest new avenues of research. Reading these two writers in network with one another promises to yield valuable insights into each writer's innovations as well as their foundational roles in the institutionalization of women's writing within modern Japanese literary history.

Considering that Hirabayashi celebrated her ability to bond with Hayashi on the grounds of their shared experience of poverty as members of the working class, it serves as a testament to the fortitude of their bond that Enchi and Hirabayashi's different class backgrounds did not pose an impediment to their friendship.[14] Enchi was born Ueda Fumi (上田富美) in Tokyo in 1905, the daughter of a Tokyo University professor of Japanese linguistics, Ueda Kazutoshi (上田万年), and at an early age had access to, and

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Geijutsu no hitobito (Domesu Shuppan, 1981); Nakayama Kazuko, Josei sakka hyōden shiriizu 8: Hirabayashi Taiko (Shintensha, 1999); Kobayashi Fukuko, *Enchi Fumiko: Jendaa de yomu sakka no sei to sakuhin* (Shintensha, 2005); and Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai, eds., *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*. Despite the significance of this friendship to both writers personally and professionally, however, there is little mention of it to be found in English-language scholarship.

[13] This deference may have been Enchi's way of showing respect to Hirabayashi as the earlier of the two of them to succeed as a novelist, or acknowledging Hirabayashi's relatively more difficult life experiences as a working-class woman.

[14] Hirabayashi also claimed that some of her closest friends were her friends from childhood and old classmates from her (girls') high school, who likely would have shared her working class status. See Setouchi Harumi, Kōno Taeko, and Hirabayashi Taiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko-san ni kiku: shōsetsu dake o kakōtoshitan janai," Enchi Fumiko et al., *Joryū wa kataru* (Shūeisha, 1978) 87.

encouragement from, her family to study. She was largely tutored at home as a child due to her poor health, but there she encountered a variety of classic texts from the Chinese and Japanese literary traditions, read widely, and had opportunities to attend *kabuki* theater performances. She began writing and publishing plays and poetry in the early 1930s, when she briefly associated with the proletarian literature movement, and shifted to writing fiction only in the late 1940s.[15] She met Hirabayashi in 1928 at a gathering to announce the launch of the literary journal *Women's Arts* (*Nyonin Geijutsu*).[16]

In an essay posthumously commemorating Hirabayashi's life, Enchi described how Hirabayashi had been a very important friend to her as a writer. Hirabayashi had encouraged her to focus on an extended piece of writing when she was nearing the end of a long recovery after surgery for uterine cancer, motivating her to write what would become her first published stories.[17] Enchi claimed that she would talk with Hirabayashi about writing, among other things, very frequently, sometimes every day, when they lived near one another. In the same essay, Enchi demonstrates the depth of her connection to Hirabayashi by claiming that to write about Hirabayashi she had to write about herself.[18] In addition to her support of Enchi's efforts to establish herself as a novelist,

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[15] Biographical information about Enchi presented here is abridged from Kobayashi Fukuko, *Enchi Fumiko: Jendaa de yomu sakka no sei to sakuhin* (Josei sakka hyōden shiriizu 11, Shintensha, 2005).

[16] See Abe, "Hirabayashi Taiko Nenpu" in *HTZ*: 12, 343.

[17] In this encouraging comment one can hear an echo of what Hirabayashi's daughter, Shinko, claimed had been Hirabayashi's refrain to her to encourage her to keep up with pursuits that interested her, rather than letting her skills languish over a long life solely as a housewife. "Are you painting pictures? You'll regret it if you're not!," (「『絵描いているかい。後悔するするよ。』」) her daughter claimed Hirabayashi had called to ask her but a few days into her newly married life. Note that Enchi had previously written plays for years, beginning in the prewar mid-1920s, but her debut in the literary establishment as a novelist came in the postwar period in the late 1940s. See Teshirogi Shinko, "Nokosareta egao" in Teshirogi Haruki, ed., *Hirabayashi Taiko tsuitō bunshū*, (Hirabayashi Taiko Kinen Bungaku Kai, 1973) 263-266; Enchi Fumiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko-san wo itamu" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai, eds., *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 131-138; and Kobayashi Fukuko, "Enchi Fumiko Ryaku Nenpu" in *Enchi Fumiko: Jendaa de yomu sakka no sei to sakuhin* (Shintensha, 2005) 272-282.

[18] This essay provides some of the most subtle yet penetrating insight into the complex relationship between Enchi and Hirabayashi as I have found among their collected works. See Enchi Fumiko,

Hirabayashi also informed Enchi about the (re-)establishment of the Women Writers' Association in 1946, when Enchi was still fighting illness and unable to attend the inaugural meeting.[19]

Enchi's literary career began in earnest after Hirabayashi's, so she was not in a position to provide mutual encouragement to her more established friend, but later in their careers Enchi served as a frequent interlocutor with Hirabayashi at public roundtable events in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. When Hirabayashi passed away in 1972, Enchi attended, coordinated, and delivered a eulogy at her funeral service, and became involved in the administration of Hirabayashi's posthumous literary organization, the Hirabayashi Taiko Commemorative Literary Association (Hirabayashi Taiko Kinen Bungaku Kai 平林たい子記念文学会). She would go on to serve on the editorial committee for the publication of Hirabayashi's collected works, released by Ushio Shuppansha in 12 volumes from 1976 through 1979.[20]

I see Hirabayashi and Enchi's friendship as founded upon a strong mutual respect for each other as writers, shared values (concerning writing and gender relations, among other topics), and shared experiences.[21] Hirabayashi and Enchi both overcame cancers that were gender-specific: Hirabayashi had recurrent breast cancer which eventually

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"Hirabayashi-san no ōkisa" in Teshirogi Haruki, ed., *Hirabayashi Taiko tsuitō bunshū* (Hirabayashi Taiko Kinen Bungaku Kai, 1973) 93-95.

[19] Ibid. See also Enchi Fumiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko-san wo itamu" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai, eds., *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 131-138.

[20] Enchi served as chair of the Women Writers' Association from 1958-1976, during which period Hirabayashi died (in 1972). Enchi joined Kon Hidemi (今日出海) Saeki Shōichi (佐伯彰一), Niwa Fumio (丹羽文雄), Hirano Ken (平野謙), Yamamoto Kenkichi (山本健吉), and Wada Yoshie (和田芳恵) in serving on the editorial committee of *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū*, 12 vols. (Ushio Shuppansha, 1976-1979). See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 39; and Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai eds., *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 241.

[21] Hirabayashi made clear in an early work of criticism (originally published in 1927) that her fondness for a given (woman) writer was tied to her respect for that writer's writings. See "Joryū sakka gettan" in Hirabayashi, *HTZ*: 10, 312.

required a double mastectomy, and Enchi had uterine cancer, which required a hysterectomy. Both also experienced extended periods confined to bed rest while battling illness; Enchi in the wake of complications after surgery for her cancer for a period of about three years from 1946 to 1949, and Hirabayashi from 1938 to 1945. Enchi spearheaded an assistance organization to collect money to help pay Hirabayashi's medical bills when she fell ill while confined in jail in 1938.[22] Thereafter, the two would come to consult each other about good doctors. Although Enchi was born into an upper-middle class household, she experienced financial hardships when her home was destroyed in an air raid in 1945, and the situation was further exacerbated by her health troubles. This difficult time may have shaped her perspective in such a way that she could further empathize with Hirabayashi in terms of shared experiences. Enchi literally saved Hirabayashi's life with her support in 1938 and afterward, and in doing so, helped make possible the entire second half of Hirabayashi's prolific literary career, which began in 1946.[23]

As close as they were, it is not as though Enchi and Hirabayashi never had any disagreements. For instance, Hirabayashi's essay, amusingly titled, "Is Travel the Graveyard of Friendship?" recounts her frustrations with her friend during an international voyage the two took together.[24] (Although I would venture to argue that given Hirabayashi's well-established sense of humor, this essay serves more as a rhetorical exercise in curmudgeonry than as criticism of Enchi as a person.) One can also

[22] This organization went by the name of Hirabayashi Taiko Iryō Kai (平林たい子慰療会). See Abe, *Jinbutsu shoshi taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 19. Hirabayashi suffered so gravely from this compound illness that it took years for her to fully recover. She was bedridden from 1938 to 1945, and without Enchi's initiative and the financial support it brought her and her impoverished husband in the already challenging economy of wartime, Hirabayashi very likely would not have survived.
[23] Hirabayashi's return to writing saw her publication of an award-winning novels "Hitori yuku" (1946), "Kōiu onna" (1946), and "Watashi wa ikiru" (1947). Ibid., 21-22.
[24] Hirabayashi Taiko, "Tabi wa yūjō no hakaba ka: futari tabi no wazurawashisa" in *HTZ*: 12, 238-243.

sense a tension between Enchi and Hirabayashi in terms of their respective attitudes toward Hayashi Fumiko. Hirabayashi, as I have shown, had a close relationship with Hayashi, and her fond memories of Hayashi took precedence over any disagreements they had. Enchi, in contrast, seemed to believe that her difficulty publishing her fiction in the early postwar period had to do with Hayashi and Hayashi's monopolistic relationships to a number of periodicals to which she submitted her work. Whether due to a personal grudge against Hayashi born of that time, or whether she indeed knew other, more damning information about Hayashi's purposeful co-optation of publishing opportunities for women writers, in subsequent years Enchi presented a chilly assessment of Hayashi as a person in more than one recorded interview.[25]

Hirabayashi and Enchi did not have the kind of intimate, sisterly relationship Hirabayashi had with Hayashi Fumiko. Whenever Hirabayashi referred to a "Fumiko" in conversation, she meant Hayashi, never Enchi.[26] And yet, in explaining this distinction, Hirabayashi shed some light on her relationship with Enchi, claiming with an appeal to rationality that her naming choice was simply a matter of her having met Hayashi three or four years before she met Enchi forty years ago.[27] While we might look back on

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[25] Joan Ericson quotes Enchi in a statement indicting Hayashi for hoarding requests for manuscripts from publishers and deceiving other women writers whom she saw as competitors. See Joan Ericson, *Be A Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997) 98.

[26] Setouchi Jakuchō's effort to ensure she understood which writer, Enchi or Hayashi, Hirabayashi referenced when she spoke of "Fumiko," resulted in an exchange during a roundtable discussion which, like many of her writings, has resurfaced in subsequent memoirs. Hirabayashi claimed she always meant Hayashi when she said "Fumiko," because although she was close with both Hayashi and Enchi, she had known Hayashi for a slightly longer time, and shared part of a difficult period of her life with her. See Setouchi Harumi, Kōno Taeko, and Hirabayashi Taiko, "Hirabayashi Taiko-san ni kiku: shōsetsu dake o kakōtoshitan janai" in Enchi Fumiko et al., *Joryū wa kataru* (Shūeisha, 1978) 93-94.

[27] Indeed, she had long been a friend of Enchi's since meeting her in association with Hasegawa Shigure's (長谷川時雨) new journal *Women's Arts*, Hirabayashi attested during a roundtable in response to a question by Setouchi Harumi. But that moment was forty years ago (from the time of the roundtable), and Hirabayashi simply stated that she had met Hayashi about 43 or 44 years ago, and at a time before she had become a writer. She claimed to have developed a close feeling to Hayashi during the time they spent

Hirabayashi's relationships with the writers in this network and identify her relationship with Hayashi as an archetypal friendship against which she measured her other friendships, such a hierarchy does little to lessen the strength of her connection to Enchi. To the contrary, Hirabayashi likely spent more time with Enchi over the years they knew one another than she ever did with Hayashi, with whom she let a long period lapse in which they did not see one another.

As far as their efforts to sustain others' writing careers, Enchi and Hirabayashi made material and intellectual contributions to ensure writers' financial stability in the face of hardships (like illness, inequitable finances in a marital relationship, loss of property during wartime, low-income backgrounds, etc.) and to commit resources to the creation and maintenance of archives of one another's writings. Hirabayashi arranged to have a non-profit organization established with the funds from her estate after her death, to set up a fund to help struggling writers, such as she had once been, to make ends meet and establish their careers. As part of this, the "Hirabayashi Taiko Literary Prize" ("Hirabayashi Taiko Bungaku Shō") was established, and monetary awards were given to selected fiction writers *and* critics annually for the duration of the award.[28] Furthermore, as consecutive chairs of the Women Writers' Association, Hirabayashi and Enchi led the

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walking around Tokyo together, not having money to spare for train fare, nor much to spare for food. With this rational explanation she tells why it is simple to her that of course she would call her older friend Hayashi by her first name, Fumiko, but not Enchi, despite their long association. One can also imagine a frankness of speech Hirabayashi may have shared with Hayashi when she herself was as a younger girl, in the company of a fellow working-class with whom she felt she had much in common. A sense of social distance may have found its way into her speech with Enchi, whether originating from Enchi or Hirabayashi, which could have discouraged such familiar address. Ibid.

[28] The Hirabayashi Taiko Literary Prize was first awarded in 1973 to Kō Haruto (耕治人) for fiction, and to Takenishi Hiroko (竹西寛子) and Yamamuro Shizuka (山室静) for criticism. (In this choice to provide awards for critics as well as fiction writers, Hirabayashi commemorates her own active career of criticism, although her writings as a critic are becoming less well known than her fiction over time.) The prize was awarded annually (with some exceptions) to 56 writers altogether, until 1997, the final year the prize was awarded. See Abe, *Jinbutsu Shoshi Taikei 11: Hirabayashi Taiko*, 38; and Abe Namiko, *Kaku koto, koi suru koto: kiki no jidai no onna sakkatachi* (Shakai Hyōronsha, 2012) 163-164.

organization from 1955 to 1976.[29] Enchi characterized the organization as a space that helped foster the literary careers of many women writers.[30] Hirabayashi and Enchi together helped sustain that productive space for modern Japanese women writers for over two decades. Looking at Hirabayashi and Enchi's successive positions as chair of the Women Writers' Association, one also can picture how Enchi, in network with Hirabayashi, served as a bridge linking the women writers (*joryū sakka*) whose careers began before the Pacific War with those who emerged in the postwar, many of whom would, unlike most of the previous generation, live to see themselves renamed *josei sakka*.

To study Enchi and Hirabayashi's literature together with some understanding of the two as part of a modern Japanese women's literary network would open up possibilities to consider how they each addressed a variety of overlapping concerns in their literatures. If, as Kōno Taeko (河野多恵子) has claimed, Hirabayashi's most compelling innovation as a writer has been her attention to gender relations, then certainly a study of Hirabayashi's portrayals of male-female relationships would benefit from critical juxtaposition with Enchi's literature.[31] Along the same lines, Hirabayashi and Enchi's works seen together suggest a number of points of comparison and deeper consideration, especially with regard to the bodily experiences and social institutions with which they both grappled as women. Among these points we could list the institutions of "female chastity" and "feminine virtue," the traditional household division of labor,

[29] See Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai hen, 241.
[30] See Enchi Fumiko, "Hone o sasu yōna hihyō mo – waga gurūpu: Joryū Bungakusha Kai" in Nihon Joryū Bungakusha Kai, eds., *Joryū Bungakusha Kai: Kiroku*, 62-64.
[31] 「（前略）平林の作品の特色が最も発揮されているのは、結局政治や社会についてよりも男女なるものを探求する場合ではないだろうか。」 See Kōno Taeko, "Bungei jihyō: mijika de shigoto shita tsuyomi – Toda Fusako, *Moete ikiyo: Hirabayashi Taiko no shōgai*," Tokyo *Asahi Shinbun* (evening edition, March 26, 1982) 5.

illness and prolonged periods of recovery, aging, sexuality, childbirth, motherhood, and marriage, to name but a few. One might also read together Enchi and Hirabayashi's depictions of defiant women (both as stereotypes and as realistically rendered characters), contrasting, for example, Hirabayashi's work in the "poison woman" stories (*dokufumono*) and gangster fiction (*yakuzamono*) genres with Enchi's intertextual appeals to Japanese mythology, the figure of the shamaness, Noh drama, and classical Japanese literature. Some early work in English has begun to consider Enchi's prewar writings and her stance on the relationship between politics and art, but this area holds further promise as well.[32]

[32] See Ayako Kano, "Enchi Fumiko's Stormy Days: *Arashi* and the Drama of Childbirth," Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 61 No. 1 (Spring 2006) 59-91. While a growing number of student theses and dissertation manuscripts in English have begun to address different areas of Enchi's writing, the relative paucity of monographs or even book chapters on Enchi in English is startling, especially given the frequency with which her literature is taught in American universities courses on Japanese literature. See Doris G. Bargen, "Translation and Reproduction in Enchi Fumiko's 'A Bond for Two Lifetimes – Gleanings" in Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker, eds., *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing* (Stanford University Press, 1996) 165-204; Nina Cornyetz, *Dangerous Women, Deadly Words: Phallic Fantasy and Modernity in Three Japanese Writers* (Stanford University Press, 1999); Eileen B. Mikals-Adachi, "Enchi Fumiko: Female Sexuality and the Absent Father" in Rebecca L. Copeland and Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, eds., *The Father-Daughter Plot: Japanese Literary Women and the Law of the Father* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); and Chigusa Kimura-Steven, "Reclaiming the Critical Voice in Enchi Fumiko's *The Waiting Years*," in Tomoko Kuribayashi and Mizuho Terasawa, eds., *The Outsider Within: Ten Essays on Modern Japanese Women Writers* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2002). For English translations of Enchi's literature, see John Bester, trans., "Enchantress" ["Yo"] *Japan Quarterly* 5:3 (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1958) 339-357; John Bester, trans., *The Waiting Years* [*Onnazaka*] (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1971); Phyllis Birnbaum, trans., "A Bond for Two Lifetimes – Gleanings," ["Nise no en – shūi"] in *Rabbits, Crabs, etc.: Stories by Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1982); Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden, trans., "Love in Two Lives: The Remnant" ["Nise no en – shūi"] *Stories by Contemporary Japanese Women* Writers (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1982); Yukiko Tanaka and Elizabeth Hanson, trans., "Boxcar of Chrysanthemums" ["Kikuguruma"] in *This Kind of Woman: Ten Stories by Japanese Women Writers, 1960-1976* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1982) 69-86; Juliet Winters Carpenter, trans., *Masks* [*Onnamen*] (New York: Knopf, 1983); Beth Cary, trans., "Blind Man's Buff," [*Mekura oni*] in Makoto Ueda, ed., The Mother of Dreams *and Other Short Stories: Portrayals of Women in Modern Japanese Fiction* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1986) 165-177; Susan Matisoff, trans., "Skeletons of Men" ["Otoko no hone"] *Japan Quarterly* 35-4 (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1988) 417-426; S. Yumiko Hulvey, trans., "The Wicket Gate" ["Kuguri"] *Century of Dreams* (Manoa: A Pacific Journal of International Writing) Vol. 9 No. 2 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Winter 1997); S. Yumiko Hulvey, "Transformation" ("Keshō") *The Zigzag Way* (Manoa: A Pacific Journal of International Writing) Vol. 10 No. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Summer 1998); Roger K. Thomas, trans., *A Tale of False Fortunes* [*Namamiko monogatari*] (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2000); and Lucy North, trans., "The Flower-Eating Crone" ["Hana kui uba"], in Theodore Goosen, ed., The Oxford Book of Japanese Short Stories (Oxford Univ. Press, 2002) 172-181.

Bibliography

NB: The place of publication of all Japanese texts is Tokyo unless otherwise listed.
I refer to selected authors' collected works using the abbreviations below, as follows: [abbreviated title of collected works]: [Vol. No.], *followed by page numbers,* (*where applicable*).

List of Abbreviations
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